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ABSTRACT

This report is concerned with the current Welsh cultural resurgence, with the focus of this resurgence on the Welsh language as a chief determinant of ethnicity, and with the efforts of the Welsh to obtain from those that govern them institutional supports for their language in schools, courts of law, and similar public and official establishments. This study is put in the context of relations with the English, the historical background of the Welsh, and the larger context of autonomist movements in Europe and North America, South America, Asia, and Africa. The questions explored here include: (1) what is the relationship between ethnicity, nationalism, and language; (2) under what circumstances do they fuse into one another; (3) to what extent do they have an underlying unity, yet can be discussed apart; and (4) what accounts for the persistence of ethnicity well into the twentieth century? The report is divided into the following sections: a brief history of European, Celtic, and Welsh nationalism; issues and development in Welsh nationalism; land, language, and community; language versus institutions; the school as an agency of regeneration; and the teaching of history in the schools. Implications of this study in relation to ethnicity, nationalism, and bilingualism are also discussed. (Author/AM)

ED108517

# Ethnic Boundaries, Identity, and Schooling:
## A Socio-Cultural Study of Welsh-English Relations

BUD B. KHLEIF

FL006988

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# ETHNIC BOUNDARIES, IDENTITY, AND SCHOOLING:
# A SOCIO-CULTURAL STUDY OF WELSH-ENGLISH RELATIONS

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Bud B. Khleif. May 8, 1975.

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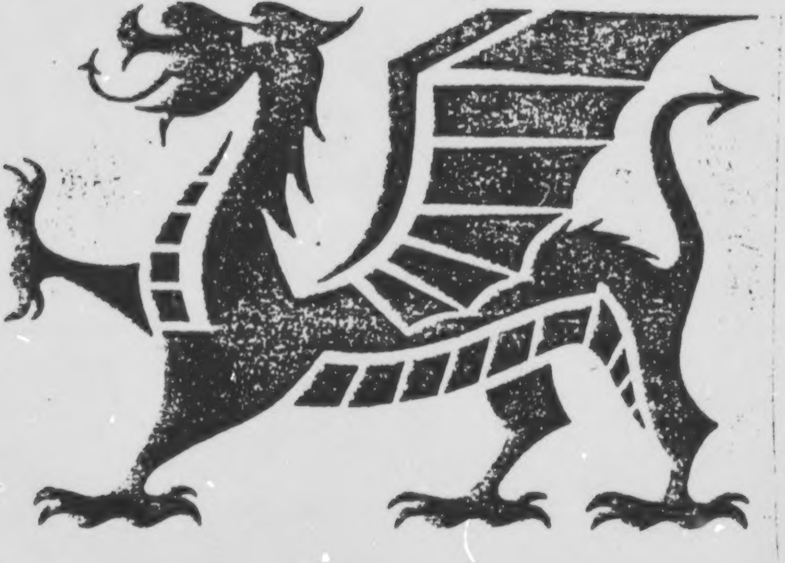
With exemplary care and skill, Mrs. Janet A. Snow has typed the manuscript. I am appreciative of her assistance.

To all the above, in both English and Welsh, let me say Thank You and Diolch Yn Fawr!

Bud B. Khleif

May 8, 1975
Durham, New Hampshire

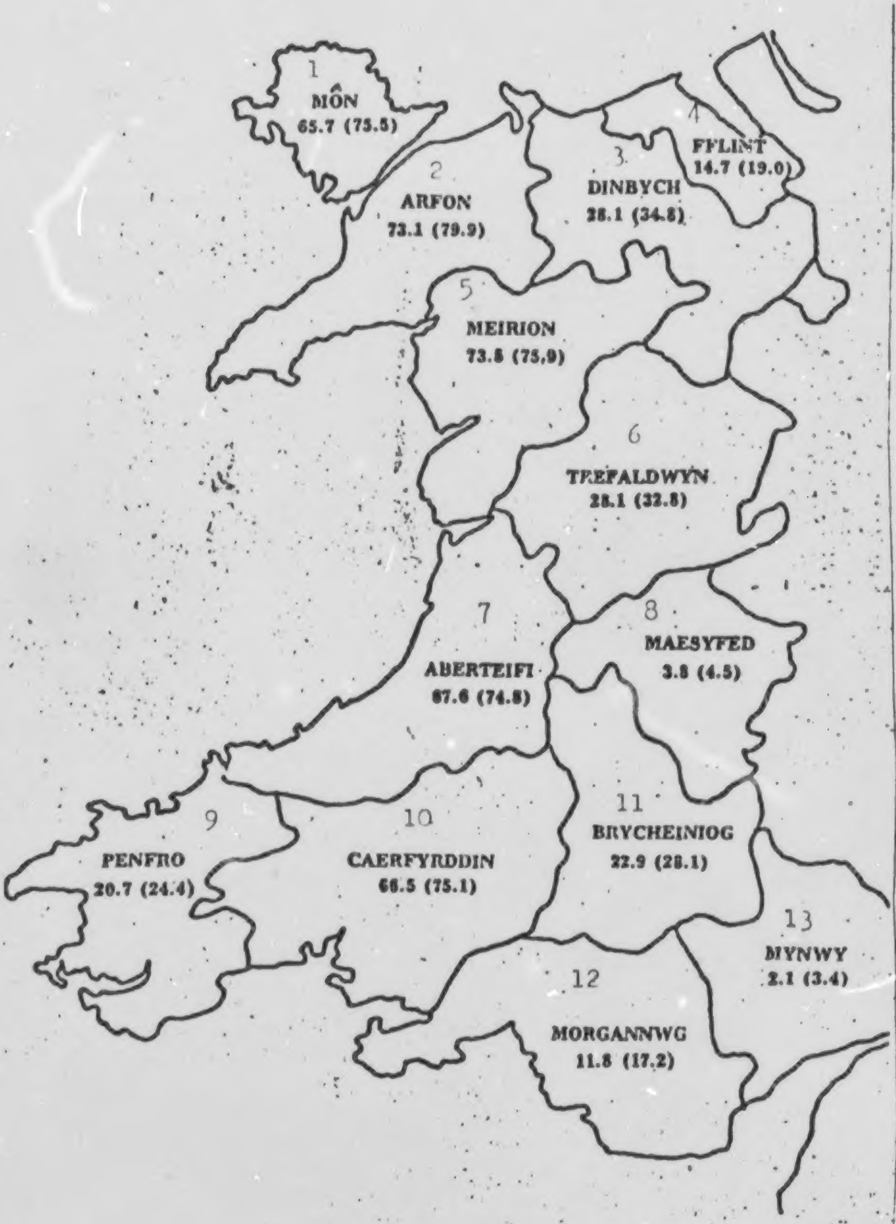


"Oni ellir dysgu Saesneg ar y gore,
Heb fynd yn felchion goegion gege,
I wadu na fedrant ddim yn faith
Mewn moment o iaith eu mame?"
(Twm o'r Nant)

"Why should they purse their lips and mince along,
The moment they acquire the English tongue,
Deny, decry their mother tongue, and feign
No fluency of phrase in native vein?"
(Twm o'r Nant,
Eighteenth century
Welsh poet)

Sources:
(a)Dragon: Meils,G.,1973:
front cover; (b)Poem: Isaac, N.,
1972:94,95.

Plate 1


1
MÔN
65.7 (75.5)
2
ARFON
73.1 (79.9)
3
DINBYCH
28.1 (34.8)
4
FFLINT
14.7 (19.0)
5
MEIRION
73.5 (75.9)
6
TREFALDWYN
28.1 (32.8)
7
ABERTEIFI
67.6 (74.8)
8
MAESYFED
3.8 (4.5)
9
PENFRO
20.7 (24.4)
10
CAERFYRDDIN
66.5 (75.1)
11
BRYCHEINIOG
22.9 (28.1)
12
MORGANNWG
11.8 (17.2)
13
MYNWY
2.1 (3.4)

1. Anglesey
2. Caernarvonshire
3. Denbighshire
4. Flintshire
5. Merionethshire
6. Montgomeryshire
7. Cardiganshire
8. Radnorshire
9. Pembrokeshire
10. Carmarthenshire
11. Breconshire.
12. Glamorgan
13. Monmouthshire

Note

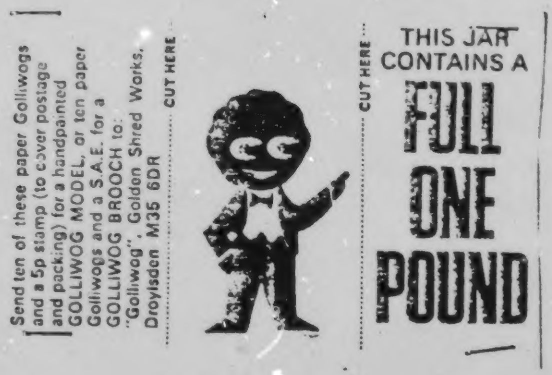
As of April 1, 1974, the 13 counties of Wales have been reorganized into 8, as follows:

(a) Gwynedd: 1, 2, 5.
(b) Clwyd: 3, 4.
(c) Dyfed: 7, 9, 10.
(d) Powys: 6, 8, 11.
(e) West Glamorgan: part of 12.
(f) Mid-Glamorgan: part of 12.
(g) South Glamorgan: part of 12.
(h) Gwent: 13.

COUNTIES OF WALES, WITH PERCENTAGES OF WELSH SPEAKERS ACCORDING TO THE 1971 (AS COMPARED WITH THE 1961) CENSUS

Source: Y Cymro (The Welshman), Welsh weekly newspaper, October 4, 1973.

PLATE 2


Send ten of these paper Golliwogs and a 5p stamp (to cover postage and packing) for a handpainted GOLLIWOG MODEL, or ten paper Golliwogs and a S.A.E. for a GOLLIWOG BROOCH to: "Golliwog", Golden Shred Works, Droylsden M35 6DR

GOLLIWOG

Source: Jar of Robertson's
Damson Preserves, 1974

Note

1. The Golliwog is a relic of Empire days, made to symbolize Africa for Whites. Through the Race Relations Board, the Blacks of Britain are trying to stop the commercial use of this symbol.
2. Cf. the American Indian as an advertising symbol for Mutual of Omaha, the Shawmut Bank of Boston, Indian Head National Bank of Portsmouth, and other Paleface enterprises. Some Indians would like to see the end of such generic caricature of them by Whites.
3. Cf. nursery rhymes--e.g., "Taffy was a Welshman," etc.--and certain usages of the word "welsh" for ethnic caricature by the English: instances of what may be termed, perhaps, "linguistic Golliwogs."

Plate 3

# CHAPTER I

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION: INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS, ETHNICITY, AND LANGUAGE

This report is concerned with the current Welsh cultural resurgence, with the focus of this resurgence on the Welsh language as a chief determinant of ethnicity, and with the efforts of the Welsh to wrench from those that govern them institutional supports for their language in schools, courts of law, and similar public or official establishments. Obviously, the Welsh cannot be understood apart from the English, since they are locked with them into a "fated mutuality," nor can the Welsh present be understood apart from its past; hence, we will pay attention to these matters. In addition, a case study such as that of Welsh-English relations is but a point on a rather long continuum of autonomist movements in Europe and North America, not to mention Asia, Africa, or South America; hence, the larger the context into which this study can be put, the clearer its issues become as well as their interlinkage.

The post World War II era is marked by ethnic awakening in the First World. Groups long dormant or thought to be dead have begun to assert their cultural rights, language rights, and community rights. In this assertion, "'culture' is brandished as a magic word, embracing the total life and aspirations of a group" (N. Thomas, 1973a:21). This is true, for example, of the five Celtic groups in Britain and France (the Scots, Welsh, Northern Irish, Cornish, and Bretons) and of the Basques in Spain and France. Paradoxically it would seem, whereas the Third World is intent on de-tribalization as a prerequisite for creation of national unity, the First World is going through a stage of re-tribalization in the interest of decentrality. But this paradox is more apparent than real: independence movements within the First World are but an extension of, and a sequel to, those of the Third World; for it is the underdeveloped regions of the overdeveloped world, what may be termed the "Third World within the First World," that are currently asserting their autonomy.

Autonomist movements are perhaps divisible into two kinds: integrationist and separatist. The former tend to emphasize "cultural" nationalism, i.e., matters of language, education, and history; the latter are marked by "political" nationalism, i.e., attempts at creation of a new nation-state carved out of an old order. The former tend to be non-violent; the latter, violent. Obviously, there are combinations of integrationist-separatist movements, creating a third type; at times, this type may aver integration and interdependence to start with, but move on to separatism later on; at times it may start with an avowal of separatism but settle for a measure of equality and accommodation within an existing social order. In addition, whether the nationalism asserted is "cultural" or "political" is really a matter of emphasis: Political nationalism includes cultural factors to sustain it and single out its uniqueness; cultural nationalism is but nationalism with its political face dormant -- it is an accommodationist type. Both the "political" and "cultural" types of nationalism are rooted in economic factors, in how people are allowed to earn their living and the opportunity structure at their disposal.

Nationalism can be regarded as a process of mobilization and solidification, of loyalty building and identity crystallization. Such a process, in Fishman's view, is two directional (Fishman, *et al*., 1968:39-40): It transforms a fragmentary ethnicity into a *nationality* (by which he means an entity highly conscious of its solidarity and assertive of its authenticity); it transforms a nationality into a *nation* (by which he means a politico-territorial entity with an independent government). Our usage of *cultural* nationalism emphasizes nationality; of *political* nationalism, nation.

A few examples may clarify our attempt at a typology of autonomist movements in Europe, a typology ranging from the dormant (i.e., with a potential to flare up) to the combustible, a typology dependent on language as a central issue in both cultural and political nationalism:

1. There are at least two areas in Europe where cultural nationalism is dormant, where indigenous languages have been suppressed: Languedoc in south-west France where Provençal (more accurately "Occitan") is spoken; Galicia in north-west Spain where Galician is spoken (Marnham, 1974: 8-9; Webb, 1974:49-51).
2. Though their language, like that of the Gallegos (Galicians), has been suppressed by the central government of Spain, and though they are not allowed to teach it in school, Catalan speakers in and around Barcelona still maintain a strong

literary tradition. They are allowed to publish books in Catalan and to set up literary associations--e.g., "Omnium Cultural"--to protect it (Price, 1973:8-9; J. M. Esteban, 1974:personal communication). This concession on the part of the Spanish government is perhaps because Catalan nationalism, unlike that of the Basques, tends to be middle-class and cultural; whatever books are published tend to reach a small intellectual minority, not a mass audience (Medhurst, 1972:8).

3. The Frisians of north Holland were allowed to use their language as a medium of instruction in their primary schools only in 1955; in their secondary schools, only in 1974 (Boelens, 1974:1). Theirs is an integrationist sort of cultural nationalism. Their efforts center around language maintenance: operating their schools, a teachers' college, and lobbying to set up a Frisian university--all under the auspices of one umbrella organization, the Fryske Akademy (Marnham, 1974:5).
4. Welsh nationalism, which we will examine in more detail later on, can be said to be more cultural than political. It is centered on revival and maintenance of the language as well as on "devolution," i.e., a measure of home rule or interdependence with England, not complete independence from it. In this sense, it is integrationist, not separatist.
5. Currently, the most violent kind of nationalism on the Continent is that of the Basques in Spain. It is essentially political rather than cultural, and fully separatist. In

their efforts to revive and maintain the Basque language, both political and non-political agencies among the Basques (e.g., the Roman Catholic Church and E.T.A., the militant nationalist organization whose name, Euskadi Ta Askatasuna, means "Basque Homeland and Freedom") have supported Ikastolas, voluntary part-time schools outside the official education system where all subjects are taught in Basque. These schools, though technically legal are closely watched by the Spanish authorities; propagating the Basque language is still considered a potentially hostile political act (Medhurst, 1972:8-9; Sartre, 1971:17).

Autonomist movements in Europe and elsewhere can be termed "ethnic renaissances"; what was regarded, prior to World War II, as matters of class or political structure has been transformed into ethnic questions (Pitt-Rivers, 1971:16). In many regions, economic and social problems are being expressed in ethnic terms; language is made to symbolize the core of nationality. Nationalism quite often is linguistic nationalism.

What is the relation between ethnicity, nationalism, and language? Under what circumstances do they fuse into one another, becoming mere aspects of one another? To what extent do they have an underlying unity, much like an Anglican or a Freudian trinity, yet can be discussed apart, at times as if they were in opposition? What accounts for the persistence of ethnicity, if not nationalism and a language essentially of local currency, well into the twentieth century? These will be the questions for exploration here.

Ethnicity, or ethnic identification, has been termed by Edward Shils (1957) a "primordial tie," binding together members of a Gemeinschaft, or a close-knit community. That it is "primordial" means that it is characteristic of an earlier form of human organization (Hechter, 1974:1159); it is a case of tribalism. It survives in a Gesellschaft, a complex form of social organization, an industrial form in contrast to the earlier Gemeinschaftliche agricultural one, as a historical estate, as Staende--to use Weber's term--much like remnants of feudalism still survive in Britain and other "modern" states. Why? Because ethnicity is bound up with the two major elements of social organization: structure and culture, stratification and the belief system that undergirds it. Indeed, as Fredrik Barth, the Norwegian anthropologist, has pointed out, ethnicity is essentially a matter of boundary maintenance between groups (1969:9-38), of validating cultural distinctions emanating from a stratification system; in short, it is a matter of ascribed status. Although ethnicity may be said to "refer to the sentiments which bind individuals into solidary groups on some cultural basis" (Hechter, 1974:1152), what maintains it is pressure from the outside.

What has been said about ethnicity as a "primordial tie" can also be said about language and about religion. These are traditional and strong indicators of identity. As Hechter has pointed out, "...Research in comparative politics has indicated that religious and linguistic differences between groups are frequently of greater significance in the politics of developed societies than differences of social class" (1973: 321, emphasis added). He himself has found out in a study of voting behavior that spans 70 years that "the distribution of votes within a British county is better predicted, on the whole, from knowledge of its religious composition than from knowledge of its social structural composition" (1974:1159).

Ethnicity, language, and religion are primordial indications of identity. They are mobilizable as a response to structural discrimination. The response itself is called nationalism. Celtic nationalism, for example, is a reaction to the continuation of regional inequality in Britain, to structured regional inequality (Hechter, 1972:176-177, emphasis added). In this context, nationalism is a collective self-definition.

## ESSENTIALISM VS. EPOCHALISM

Independence movements, as forms of nationalism, usually have a threefold aspect: a quest for unity among the various segments of the population; for authenticity as an expression of cultural uniqueness and ethnic distinctiveness; and for a higher standard of material well-being, or modernization (Fishman, 1971:3-4). This trichotomy is reducible to a dichotomy, to a sense of selfhood vs. modernization. Indeed, speaking of a basic dichotomy that underlies national movements rather than a trichotomy enables us to highlight tension and dilemmas rather than additive relationships. We can then emphasize the dynamic aspect of social change, pointing to its Janus-type character, its areas of continuity and discontinuity.

A simple illustration of the aforementioned point is in order. Developing nations, which used to be mere independence movements not long ago, face in acute form what they had faced less acutely prior to their independence. What they face is a conflict of the present vs. the future, tradition vs. modernity, pride vs. hope--in a word, identity vs. modernism. It is the tension between what Edward Shills has called the "will to be modern" and what Mazzini has termed the "need to exist and have a name" (Geertz, 1973:249,258).

Geertz initially conceptualizes the aforementioned dichotomy in terms of two rather lofty abstractions: "The Indigenous Way of Life" as opposed to "The Spirit of the Age" (1973:240). He goes on to interpret those as follows:

> To stress the first of these is to look to local mores, established institutions, and the unities of common experience--to "tradition," "culture," "national character," or even "race"--for the roots of a new identity. To stress the second is to look to the general outlines of the history of our time, and in particular to what one takes to be the overall direction and significance of that history. There is no new state in which both these themes (which, merely to have names for them, I shall call "essentialism" and "epochalism") are not present; few in which they are not thoroughly entangled with one another; and only a small, incompletely decolonized minority in which the tension between them is not invading every aspect of national life from language choice to foreign policy (Geertz, 1973:240-241, emphasis added).

"Essentialism" has to do with the essence of national heritage, the soul of the nation, what makes it authentic. "Epochalism" has to do with leaving one's mark on this epoch of history, joining the industrialized nations and their cultures of technology and secularism. "Essentialism" has to do with maintenance of a Gemeinschaft, with "spirituality" (almost with quiètisme), with what the Third World has been traditionally proud of. "Epochalism" has to do with catapulsion into a Gesellschaft, with "dynamism" (almost with feverish industrialism), with what the First World has for so long stood for. To put it rather differently, "essentialism" is, mutatis mutandis, maintenance of Yiddishkeit; "epochalism" is joining the Goyim (cf. Weinreich, 1968:382)--be they Saes or Sassenach, as Welshmen or Scotsmen would say (literally, Saxons,i.e., the English, the out-group).

In a nationalism context, the language issue hinges precisely on the essentialism-epochalism dilemma. Whether, when, and for what purposes to use a given language is a "question of how far a people should form itself by the bent of its genius and how far by the demands of its times"(Geertz, 1973:241). In other words, the question is whether a given language is "psychologically immediate or whether it is an avenue to the wider community of modern culture" (Geertz, 1973:242).

What intensifies the problem of language in the Third World at large, and in those regions of the First World that are Third Worldish in character, is that what from the point of view of speakers of a native language is the natural vehicle for thought and feeling--especially in the case of languages that have a distinguished literary, religious, or artistic tradition, such as Hindi or Welsh--is, from the point of view of speakers of the three or four worldwide languages of science and technology, a mere patois. It is almost like a zero-sum game of linguistic power: encouragement of a native language is quite often seen as if only accomplishable at the expense of the major foreign language to be adopted, and vice-versa. As an expression of essentialism, vernaculars tend to be psychologically immediate but socially isolating; as an expression of epochalism, lingua francas of science, technology, and modernism tend to be de-provincializing but psychologically forced (Geertz, 1973: 242-243).

"Formulated this way, the 'language problem' is only the 'nationality problem' writ small, though in some places the conflicts arising from it are intense enough to make the relationship seem reversed" (Geertz, 1973:242). Wales is certainly this way: the fate of its language ("Tyngyd yr Iaith") continues to be a feverish issue, at the very center of its bi-ethnic conflict.

This has been a general introduction. We shall take up the interrelationship of ethnicity, nationalism, and language more specifically in relation to Wales. Essentialism vs. epochalism seems to be a useful way of summarizing the problem.

# CHAPTER II

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF NATIONALISM: EUROPEAN, CELTIC, AND WELSH

In the preceding chapter, we sketched out the interrelationship of ethnicity, language, and assertion of nationality, seeing Welsh nationalism as one of a number of Third-World nationalisms in Europe itself and pointing to the issue of language as its crux. In this chapter, we shall discuss Welsh nationalism within the context of European nationalism and link it also with Celtic nationalism. First, we shall start with a brief review of the history of European nationalism, then, based on that history, suggest a suitable framework for viewing Celtic as well as Welsh nationalism.

It can be said that nationalism, in its origins, is a product of European history, a post-Feudal phenomenon closely allied with the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, and the rise of new social orders. European nationalism can be divided into four periods: 1492-1789; 1789-1870; 1870-1945; and post-1945. These are very rough divisions, but they enable us to detect trends and tendencies and see general patterns that may, at times, burst beyond these _ad hoc_ boundaries.

### 1. From the End of the Medieval Era to the French Revolution, 1492-1789

This is the age of European expansionism into the New World, and later on into the rest of the Old one. It is the age of colonialism, conveniently presented to school-children as "Voyages of Discovery." This is the beginning of the age that some Black Americans have dubbed "The White Peril," an expansionism that started with the voyage of Magellan around the world in 1519 and is about to end when Angola, the last remaining European colony in Africa, wins independence from Portugal this year (1975). As Brooks Adams has pointed out, there is not an altogether unusual coincidence between the battle of Plassey which put the wealth of India at the disposal of Britain (1757) and the agreement of historians that the Industrial Revolution began with the year 1760 (Adams, 1955:251-256).

But what has European colonial expansionism got to do with Celtic or other nationalism? Quite a bit,one might say.

(a) During this era, English monarchs consolidated their power and centralized their government. They annexed Wales in 1536, acquired Scotland in 1707, and brought Ireland fully into line in 1800. In the same way that India, America, and other places belonged to England and were part of a growing British Empire, the Celtic regions did. In the same way that India and the other colonies supplied foodstuff and raw materials to England, the Celtic regions did. In other words, the Celtic regions became internal colonies. As Michael Hechter has shown in his study of industrialization in the British Isles, the Celtic regions continued to be in a dependency position with England, their per capita income was always less than that of England, and they suffered almost the same racial and ethnic stereotyping that the English reserved for their colonial subjects

(1972:155-182). As Welshmen like to say, Wales was England's first colony.

(b) During the same era, France annexed Britanny; Spain annexed Galicia and the Basque Country. These are still underdeveloped regions; they represent linguistic and ethnic problems, some of which have coalesced around nationalist movements.

(c) This is the era of Mercantilism, the deliberate breaking down of strictly local markets and restrictive regulations inside the sovereign's domain, the era of free trade. A single national economy was to be substituted for a conglomeration of local economies (Carr, 1968:5,6). This was part of centralization and increase in the power of the state in relation to outlying regions. Moreover, a multiplicity of national economies were transformed into a single economy (Carr, 1968:7).

(d) In this era, the nation was identified with the person of the sovereign. Kings, bishops, and princes were what mattered; peasants and commoners did not think of themselves as part of a nation yet (Carr, 1968:2-3). All this was to change with the French Revolution.

## 2. From the French Revolution to the Unification of Germany and Italy, 1789-1870.

Modern nationalism begins in this era, which marks the collapse of Feudalism and the rise of individualism. The era begins with the breakdown of traditional authority and the rise of a new class. No longer was the nation identified with the sovereign, but as Rousseau stressed, with the "people" (Carr, 1968:7). The "people" were essentially the middle class.

> The "democratization" of nationalism imparted to it a new and disturbing emotional fervour.... With the disappearance of the absolute monarch, the personification of the nation became a necessary convenience in international relations.... The idea of the personality and character of the nation acquired a profound psychological significance. Writers like Mazzini thought and argued about nations as if they were sublimated individuals (Carr, 1968:8-9, emphasis added).

In this era, there arose a cult of the national language. Philology was in the service of the state; Fichte in Germany wrote his famous Disccurse to the German Nation (Morazé, 1968:222). Language was seen as a special mystique, something to which subsequent nationalists could appeal.

This was the prime age of the Industrial Revolution. England was the world's workshop. Wales began to be known for its coal, iron, and tinplate; it got to be the world's greatest exporter of coal by the turn of the century. It got its only large towns, trading centers on the south coast (Cardiff, Barry, Newport, Swansea) during this era--with the attendant problems of Anglicization and industrialization.

The nineteenth century was the century of ideology: Manifest Destiny; Survival of the Fittest; Social Darwinism, and--of course--Nationalism. These ideologies were pressed into service in competition between colonizing nations and in keeping the colonized in their place (which includes the Celts, as will be apparent later). From 1815 to 1875, England had the world's greatest empire and technology. The energies of discontented Celts were partly absorbed in that Empire.

This era started with the Levée en masse of the French Revolution--general mobilization deliberately in the service of the state--and ended with establishment of compulsory state school systems. These are, among other things, institutions of unity and political socialization for nationalism.

### 3. From the Unification of Germany and Italy to the End of World War II, 1870-1945

This is an era of relentless growth of nationalism. It is marked by inclusion of the working class into nationalism, that is, by further democratization of the nation as well as assertion of the political dominance of the middle class. In this regard, "the defence of wages and employment.... gives the worker an intimate practical interest in the policy and power of his nation" (Carr, 1968:18-19).

Latecomers to the Empire game became assertive in this era, e.g., Germany, Italy, and Japan. Racial nationalism appears, with doctrines of master-race and inferior others. Nationalism acquires unpleasant connotations--from a quest for freedom to advocacy of tyranny. Like religion, nationalism tears apart and recreates the societies in which it arises (Geertz, 1973:253-254).

### 4. End of World War II to the Present, the post-1945 era

This era is marked by a great increase in the number of nations formed in this century. Groups long dormant or thought to be dead begin to assert themselves. Third World nationalism extends to the First World. Collapse of the British, French, and Japanese Empires is followed by a tripartite division of the world into three political giants: the U.S.A., Russia, and China, each with its own subordinates in the First, Second, or Third World. Integration of the world at large into one economic machine with the U.S.A. as its kingpin. Rise of the trans-national (multi-national) corporation which has been at times called, wherever it is found, a "state within a state." The advent of neo-colonialism, which seems to engulf nations and nations-to-be. Encouragement of regionalism and regional identity by the European Common Market (EEC). Ethnic awakening as cultural nationalism, especially as linguistic nationalism. History being edited and rewritten by emergent groups.

We conclude our summary of the history of European nationalism with a well-sharpened definition of this post-Feudal phenomenon:

> Nationalism is a doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It pretends to supply a criterion for the determination of the unit of population proper to enjoy a government exclusively its own, for the legitimate exercise of power in the state, and holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is natural self-government (Kedourie, 1961:9).

This quick review of the historical context of European nationalism leads us to the following conclusions:

1. European nationalism is closely linked with economic factors. The conquest of India, the colonization

of North America, the incorporation of Wales into England, and similar expansionist (i.e., economically important) events were indispensable to the Industrial Revolution. All these events can be seen as a unitary process of colonialism. Colonialism is when the boundaries of a state burst out and spill out into another territory, reducing that territory to vassalage. Both the colonizers and the colonized have their own versions of nationalism as a supportive ideology.

2. Politically, European nationalism is a successor to Feudalism, that is, it has gradually incorporated newer elements into the running of the state, provided more avenues of participation for the populace. In the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, nationalism was that of kings and princes; the aristocracy provided its ideology; the nation was identified with them; they were the colonizers. In the nineteenth century, nationalism was that of the middle-classes; the intelligentsia were middle-class; the middle class provided the colonizers. In the twentieth century, the "century of the common man," as Toynbee has called it, the working classes were included in the political process; they became part of the "nation." However, the leadership has continued to be provided by the middle class. The point is that nationalism has

been associated with the ascendancy of new social classes and groups, that in its pre-independence stages it is indicative of the role-less-ness of a new class, that it is a quest for a political and socio-economic role by an emergent class.

These conclusions lead us to adopt a certain theoretical framework by which we can organize a number of points and make a number of assertions. By a framework, we simply mean an approach, a set of notions and concepts, that can haul facts into focus--after all, there is no fact without a theory. The socio-cultural framework we have adopted, one that flows out of the preceding considerations, is that of "internal colonialism." This concept summarizes for us the history of Wales from 1536 to 1945, for we maintain that Wales is now going through a post-colonial stage.

## THE CELTIC FRINGE AS A CASE OF "INTERNAL COLONIALISM"

A colonial analysis of the inner workings of an advanced industrial society such as Britain or the U.S.A. is only of recent vintage among sociologists (Khleif, 1972:12-13). In America, for example, the notion of internal colonialism was first suggested in relation to the South and to White Southerners (Odum, 1936; Arnall, 1946); applied to Mexicans in Texas and California (McWilliams, 1946); then deliberately applied to Black and White relations in the 1960's (Cruse, 1967 and 1968; Clark, 1965; Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967). In the presidential campaign literature of 1968, for example, both Senator Eugene McCarthy and Richard Nixon used the notion of "colonized people" and a "colony within a nation" to refer to the Black and the poor (presidential speech writers of 1968 must have included a few sociologists!). It was Robert Blauner, however, who in a ground-breaking paper, introduced "internal colonialism" as an analytic concept into American social science. Blauner's and other writings on this subject have been heavily influenced by the work of such Afro-French writers as Frantz Fanon (1966) and Albert Memmi (1967).

Blauner's argument (1969), essentially, is that there are striking similarities between the classical quest of colonized people for self-determination and the quest of Blacks in America. Among Blacks, this quest has taken the form of urban riots, cultural nationalism, and insistence on local control of ghetto institutions. According to Blauner (1969:396), the four basic features of the process of colonization, whether external or internal, are:

1. Colonialism begins with a forced involuntary entry, a conquest.
2. The colonizing power implements a policy of suppression or destruction of indigenous values or way of life.
3. Members of the colonized group tend to be administered from the outside, that is, by representatives of the dominant group, who in the case of Blacks (e.g., White teachers and cops) do not even live in the neighborhood.
4. An ideology of racism.

"Internal colonialism" was applied by Joan Moore (1970) to Mexican-Americans and their historical experience; she contrasted its features in New Mexico, Texas, and California. In a later work (1972), Blauner extended the notion of "internal colonialism" to apply to all non-Whites in America: Blacks, American Indians (currently called "Original Americans" or "Native Americans"), Mexican-Americans ("Chicanos"), Puerto Ricans, Chinese-Americans, Filipinos, and--for important socio-economic reasons--to the whitest of Whites, the purest Anglo-Saxons, White Appalachians. Khleif (1972) examined the utility of "internal colonialism" among other notions American sociologists use for conceptualizing race and ethnic relations.

In Britain, the only sociologist to use "internal colonialism" as an organizing concept has been John Rex (1973). He is concerned with development of a typology of colonial situations, external and internal, grounded in both history and sociology. His work is provocative, though not as systematic as it should be. British anthropologists, on the other hand, have not paid attention even to external colonialism, let alone internal one: they blithely ignored colonialism as an important factor even when they studied native cultures in Asia and Africa that were directly affected by it (Asad, 1973). But this gets us into fashions in social science, both British and American, and the socio-political determinants thereof--a more appropriate topic for the sociology of knowledge, the sociology of sociology, and the anthropology of anthropology. This, of course, does not mean that the phenomenon of internal colonialism, of colonial situations and contexts, has escaped a variety of non-social-science writers--Celtic or otherwise--who may have called it by other names ("subjugation" and so forth), as will be shown later on.

The sociologist whose work has been most relevant to our immediate concern, which is to get at the historical basis of Welsh nationalism and describe it in socio-cultural fashion, has been Michael Hechter (the three papers of 1971-73, and the 1974 book). Hechter suggests "internal colonialism" as an explanatory model for discussion of ethnic change, industrialization, and regionalism in the British Isles (1971, 1972, and 1973). He borrows the concept, though, not from any of the preceding writers we have mentioned but from the work of two writers on Latin America, Pablo Gonzáles-Casanova (1965) and Rodolpho Stavenhagen (1965), who have written on the underdeveloped nature of peripheral regions in relation to the core. The following are the aspects of internal colonialism that Hechter has stressed, aspects true of Wales and the rest of the Celtic Fringe, which bear quoting at some length:

> Commerce and trade among members of the periphery tend to be monopolized by members of the core. Credit is similarly monopolized. When commercial prospects emerge, bankers, managers, and entrepreneurs tend to be recruited from the core. The peripheral economy is forced into complementary development to the core, and thus becomes dependent on external markets. Generally, this economy rests on a single primary export, either agricultural or mineral. The movement of peripheral labor is determined solely by forces exogenous to the periphery. Typically, there is great migration and mobility of peripheral workers in response to price fluctuations of exported primary

> products. Economic dependence is reinforced through juridical, political, and military measures. There is a relative lack of services, lower standard of living, and higher level of frustration, measured by such indicators as alcoholism among members of the peripheral collectivity. There is national discrimination on the basis of language, religion, or, in general, ethnicity. Thus the structural differences between groups are causally linked to cultural differences (Hechter, 1971:36, emphasis added).

One may add that economic dependence is reinforced not only through juridical or political but also through educational measures, as will be shown later on.

Hechter emphasizes that when high-status socio-economic roles are reserved to core members (e.g., the English) whereas peripheral group members (e.g., the Welsh, Scottish, or Irish prior to 1922) are denied access to these roles, the stratification itself then contributes to the maintenance of cultural differences between core and periphery and even the development of further differences (1973:323). The dynamic region, the core, exercises economic control over, and practices discrimination against, the ethnically distinct people of the periphery. Today, such ethnic discrimination is directed not against Welshmen as individuals, for example, but against the region as a whole. "... That Wales as a region is disadvantaged in terms of income, employment, housing, and education has decisive consequences for the individuals living there" (Hechter, 1972:159). Economic differences and ethnic discrimination reinforce ethnic stereotypes, and vice-versa.

From 1861 to 1961, as Hechter's study shows, industrialization was spread throughout England but was confined only to a few places in the Celtic periphery; whereas the English economy was diversified, the Celtic economies were not, and thus were more vulnerable to cataclysmic market shifts.

> Finally, it must be emphasized...that the major financial institutions in the United Kingdom have always been English, and that London has served as the primary repository of credit and investment capital. Thus when most individual investment decisions concerning the Celtic lands are made, they are largely decided in London by Englishmen who may be expected to have little knowledge, sympathy, or interest in these peripheral regions (Hechter, 1972:169).

It should be remembered that internal colonialism used to be quite external historically. Scotland, Wales, and Ireland were separate entities, traditional enemies of England, long before they were incorporated into it to form a larger unit. Like Burgundy and Brittany in France, Catalonia and Galicia in Spain, and Sicily in Italy, they are instances of what Peter Worsley calls"earlier 'failed' nation-states"(1973:82).

Some writers make a distinction between colonialism and one of its later stages, imperialism, on the basis of trade: the pre-nineteenth century colonial trade consisted predominantly of luxury items such as silk and spices; the post-1850, more particularly the post-1885, phase of colonialism, i.e., imperialism, was qualitatively different in that its trade consisted mostly of the export of capital to backward areas (Worsley, 1973:50). We can say that prior to 1850, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland exported mostly agricultural products to England, but after 1850 these Celtic regions began to be developed by English capital for the world market--extractive industries (coal and iron) in Wales, shipbuilding in Scotland and Northern Ireland. After the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, Ireland lost its role of grain producer and was converted into a livestock and dairy producer; it became a regional appendage of England (Hechter, 1972:168). During this era, Wales became the world's greatest exporter of coal; industrialization of South Wales brought with it problems of dislocation and the spread of Anglicization. It was also between 1850 and 1900 that the Highland Clearances occurred--the expulsion of crofters to make room for the sheep industry (Prebble, 1972:117-170; cf. the play entitled "The Cheviot, the Stag, and the Black, Black Oil" by John MacGrath, presented on BBC I and followed by a panel discussion, June 6, 1974, 9:25-11:00 p.m.). The point is that it was the post-1885 phase of colonialism that consolidated the world into a single social system, an interlocked entity (Worsley, 1973:50), that the Celtic regions, in the interest of England, were part of that consolidation, and that that consolidation was accompanied by problems of rural depopulation, industrial strife, and the beginnings of mass, as contrasted with elite, nationalism. The British Empire used to absorb the dissatisfied, dissident, ambitious, or impoverished among Britain's Celts; loss of Empire after 1945 contributed to the spread of autonomist movements to Britain itself, to the rise especially of Scottish and Welsh nationalism.

People tend to immortalize their enemies in language; language is social history. (Examples are "Dutch treat," "Dutch courage," "Indian giver," "to take a French leave," "Russian roulette.") The traditional enmity of the Celts and the English produced reciprocal pejorative stereotypes that were further reinforced and augmented when Wales, Scotland, and Ireland in turn were absorbed into a larger and larger England. The haughtiness of the conqueror or the colonizer demands reciprocal servility on the part of the conquered or the colonized, and, by definition, vice versa. It is a sort of mutual entrapment. Moreover, the colonizer feels he is the only one qualified to speak for the colony; the colonized do not count. It is for this reason that the thrust of anti-colonial nationalism everywhere--be it Scottish, Welsh, or Afro-Asian--has been to a great extent directed at building up self-confidence and self-respect. The colonizer's stereotypes and negative images remind the colonized daily of their humiliation--in jokes, newspaper editorials, innuendos in stores, restaurants, and government offices. The stratification system has its taken-for-grantedness sentiments to justify it.

The anti-Celtic sentiments have been built by the English over a long period of time, the Celts returning the compliment. W. R. Jones, an American historian (to be differentiated from W. R. Jones, a Welsh researcher concerned with bilingual education who will also be mentioned in this report) has characterized the historic Celtic-English clash of cultures from the Norman Conquest onward as that between feudalized, politically consolidated, town and village dwellers (the English) on one hand, and tribal, pastoral, politically decentralized cattle-raiders (the Celts) on the other (1971a:155). English writers tended to present the Celtic-English collision as a struggle of "civilization" with "barbarism." As W. R. Jones sees it, "The anti-Celtic attitudes of medieval and modern England had their origins in real institutional and cultural differences, which were, however, sharpened, exaggerated, and moralized by English critics attempting to justify efforts to dominate or destroy the Celtic world. This libel of Celtic culture, with its roots deep in the middle ages, became a major component of English cultural nationalism. English hostility towards the 'barbarous Scots,' the 'wild Irish,' and the 'lazy and fatuous Welsh' survived into the modern era.... Image was more compelling than reality" (Jones, 1971a:171, emphasis added). Like the European imagery of that period, the English imagery of the sixteenth century had, side by side, "Old World barbarians" and "New World savages" (Jones, 1971b:406)--noble and not-so-noble. In the English rogues' gallery, the Celts were joined by American Indians and Black Afro-Asians.

Self definition depends on others, on an out-group as well as an in-group. Mutual hostility engenders mutual sentiments. "By the seventeenth century an Englishman who did not look down on a Scotsman would have been only half an Englishman; a Scotsman who did not hate an Englishman would not have been a Scotsman at all" (Kiernan, cited by Hechter, 1971:35).

In exploring the socio-linguistics of prejudice, this writer consulted the multi-volume Oxford New English Dictionary at the Bodleian Library. Volume 10, Part 2, pages 308-310 had a number of pejorative entries under "Welsh," "Welsher" (also Welcher"), "Welshing," "Welshness," "Welshry," and "Welshy"--

usages extending from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. Examples are:

1. Welsh cricket: a louse.
2. Welsh ambassador: cuckoo.
3. "That's Welsh": meaning "I don't understand you" (1648 usage).
4. "To Welsh": to swindle a person out of money laid as a bet.
5. "Welsher": e.g., "He was...a 'Welsher' in the matter of marbles and hardbake before his fifth birthday" (1863 usage).
6. "Welshry": meaning Welsh origin or nationality, e.g., "Sometimes....I have even known them indignantly deny the imputation of Welshry" (Grant Allen in Westminster Gazette, 21 September 1894--a time representing the peak of relentless Anglicization of Welshmen).

(For comparable American usage in relation to particular ethnic groups, the reader may consult, among other works, Dictionary of American Slang, edited by Wentworth and Flexner.)

Two examples of anti-Welsh stereotyping, heard by this writer, would suffice: (1) "There is a certain Welshness about it"--said of the architecture of Nuffield College; and (2) various versions of the anti-Welsh nursery rhyme, "Taffy was a Welshman," which, according to the Oxford Dictionary of Quotations, first appeared in "Nancy Cock's Pretty Song Book, circa 1780." Whereas Scotsmen usually pronounce the Gaelic word for Englishmen, *Sassenach* (i.e., Saxons) with a snarl, Welshmen pronounce theirs, *Sais*, with a hint of disappointment.

Conqueror-conquered, administrator-administered, colonizer-colonized relations engender caricatures and stereotyping, with more inventiveness and variety on the part of the masters than those mastered. Trevor Fishlock, among others, mentions some of the current English imagery of Wales and Welshmen--coal, cloth-capped Taffies, etc. (1972:1,24).

To what extent do Welshmen and other Celts think of their socio-political situation as that of internal colonialism--of forced entry (conquest), cultural destruction (linguistic suppression), and administration from the outside (socio-economic control by London) so that they feel they are *subjects* in the original, not mere citizenship, sense of the word? The answer is: to a great deal. For when the aforementioned aspects coalesce into a question of suppressed identity, social and economic, and when even non-Welsh-speaking Welshmen talk about Welshness, then the history of what happened to their grandparents seems to overshadow what has happened to them in the way of social mobility, of "getting on." The book by Edwards, *et al.*, *Celtic Nationalism*, which is a study of Irish, Scottish, and Welsh nationalism (but alludes to the linguistic nature of Cornish and Manx nationalism as well), is replete with examples that show that these nationalisms are in essence anti-colonial nationalisms, an attempt at sovereignty by old suppressed Celtic nations (1968:55-56, 242-248, 301-307, *passim*).

According to D. J. Davies, Welsh resources (coal, iron, tinplate, and water for major English cities) are commandeered by the English; used chiefly in their interest, not Welsh interest; so are Scottish products (1958:84). P. B. Ellis contends that Celtic nations are subjugated nations, the 1536 Act of Union an act of colonial annexation (1968:42-47, 55-60). Gwynfor Evans describes Wales as an underdeveloped country inside Britain, as a colony; it is not even represented on the Union Jack; English efforts have been aimed at "proletarianising of an ancient community," at uprooting the Welsh from their history, language, culture, and land (1973:88, 134-138). Ceinwen Thomas and others speak of Wales as a "subject nation" (D. M. Lloyd, 1950:60, passim). Ned Thomas speaks of the Welsh as a subject people; his book explores the issues of ethnocide, suppressed language, and feelings of inferiority, and highlights how, for the colonized self, the immediate preoccupation is restoration of self-respect (1971:13, 61, 76, 95, 121-122). Indeed, Sir Reginald Coupland's book on Welsh and Scottish nationalism (1954), for a long time the only available book on the subject and still a major reference, was written as part of its author's interest in independence movements in the British Empire, a topic about which he had already published some important work. The similarity of internal and external colonialism could not have escaped Sir Reginald, although he opted to treat Scottish and Welsh nationalism as a self-contained case.

Perhaps some of the socio-economic and identity issues mentioned could be summarized by a poem. It is written by R. S. Thomas, published in an anthology of his called What Is a Welshman? (1971). The prose poem is entitled, "If You Can Call It Living"; the final stanza could well be expressive of Welsh-English relations.

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# CHAPTER III

## WELSH NATIONALISM: ISSUES AND DEVELOPMENT

In this chapter, we will give an overall view of Welsh nationalism as a prelude to discussing the central issue of language and its socio-economic manifestations. How language has become symbolic of other issues will be discussed in the next chapter.

For the sake of highlighting major trends, we can say that Welsh nationalism is divisible into two major phases: pre- and post-1872. The year 1872 is pivotal in that it marks the passage of the Ballot Act which enfranchised the farming and industrial working class in Wales and integrated Wales into British national politics. The 1872 Ballot Act, as Coupland (1954:215-216) points out, "enabled the tenants to vote against their landlords with impunity"; that is, it marks the end of Feudalism in Wales (K. O. Morgan, 1971:158). Prior to 1872, what the Welsh emphasized was a sense of nationality, of folk ties and a folk tradition; after 1872, the Welsh began to move from cultural to political nationalism.

The Welsh--together with the Scots, the Irish, the Cornish, and the Manx--are part of the original Celtic inhabitants of Britain. They are the real British in the same sense that American Indians are the real Americans, the natives. And like American Indians, the Welsh were named by their conquerors: whereas the "Indians" owe their name to Columbus's mistake, the Welsh owe theirs to the rather exclusive or intolerant spirit of their invaders, the Anglo-Saxons. "Welsh" comes from Old English

Waelise; "Wales," from Old English Wealnas, pejorative terms meaning "foreigners" and "land of foreigners," respectively. (A modern cognate of the two Old English words is "Wallace," originally applied to other Celts and surviving as a surname.) The Welsh, in their own language, call themselves Cymry (singular, Cymro); their country, Cymru (as in plaid Cymru, i.e., the national party of Wales). As Coupland points out (1954:15), the name Cymri (an older spelling of Cymry), which is still preserved in Cumberland, is derived from Cumbroges, which means fellow countrymen, a name adopted by the Celts in both Wales and north-west England during the Anglo-Saxon invasion. A Latinized variant of the name also survives in Cambria (Wales), as in Cambrian Railway and Cambrian Hotel. The conqueror gets to name the conquered and supply the very words by which the latter are to be known.

A sense of nationality among the Welsh, of their difference from the English and Anglo-Normans, is mentioned by the Venerable Bede (eighth century--K. O. Morgan, 1971:154), by Giraldus Cambrensis (twelfth century--Richter, 1972:70-72), by Geoffrey of Monmouth (twelfth century--W. Rees, 1972:51), and by the Welsh bards of Owain Glyn Dŵr's day (Owen Glendower, as he is known in English, was a Welsh prince who, during the first decade of the fifteenth century, unified Wales and almost succeeded in driving out the English. The English had conquered Wales in 1282 during the reign of Edward I.)

A sense of Irredentism, of Terra Irredenta, lurked in the minds of Welshmen, expressed by the bards of the tenth century--e.g., in the "Prophecy of Great Britain" (Armes Prydain Fawr)--that the Welsh, descendants of the early Britons, were the rightful owners not only of Wales but also of England and that a deliverer would appear one day and "conquer as far as London" (Jarman, 1950:79). The same sense of Irredentism was expressed in 1843 during the farmers' uprising and destruction of toll houses guarding country roads, the "Rebecca Riots" (Coupland, 1954:183), and even in 1921-22 (K. O. Morgan, 1971:165), when some Welshmen hoped for the reclamation of Cambria Irredenta on the border between England and Wales, that is, land originally seized from Wales by English kings and turned into English settlements, historically known as the "Welsh Marches" and those who guarded them, or owned them, as the "Marcher Lords" or Border Lordships (cf. the German "Marken" and "Marken Graff").

In the fifteenth century, the Welsh hoped to be freed from the yoke of the English by supporting one of their number, Henry Tudor--whose family originally hailed from Anglesey, north-west Wales, and who, on his mother's side, was descended from claimants to the English throne. They rallied to his cause on the battlefield, supporting him in the decisive battle of Bosworth Field, 1485. But it was Henry VIII, son of Henry Tudor (VII), who, though nominally a Welshman, was the one who deliberately attempted, in Coupland's words, "to denationalize the Welsh" (1954:50, emphasis added). Henry VIII, through the Act of Union of 1536, annexed Wales, putting an end to it as a separate body politic. He divided it into 12 shires (regrouped into 8 and given back their old Welsh names only in 1974), introduced to it English law procedures, and forced it into cultural as well as political assimilation by making it mandatory that no Welshman who did not know English could hold office. Henry VIII, in unifying and consolidating his kingdom, wanted to abolish all "sinister usages and customs" (1536 Act). From that time on, Welsh ceased to be an official language; the Welsh gentry began to be speedily Anglicized; the Welsh were deliberately Protestantized; and the Anglican Church became the established church of Wales until 1920. (In the consciousness of some of the twentieth-century Welsh nationalists, especially from 1925 onwards, "pure" or "essential" Wales is Catholic Wales, unsullied by the English; it is Welsh Wales prior to 1536. Indeed, as K. O. Morgan points out--1971:169--Catholic intellectuals occupied key positions in Plaid Cymru, the Welsh National Party, when it was first founded.)

From 1536 to about 1850, Wales was an isolated place, its gentry Anglicized and quite often settling in England, its traditions and language safeguarded only by the gwerin (the ordinary folk or common people). During the first half of the nineteenth century, two events helped to arouse the Welsh sense of nationality: The Rebecca Riots of 1843 and the 1847 Parliamentary Report on the state of Welsh education.

The Rebecca Riots, during which farmers dressed in women's gowns and bonnets and rode at night to destroy toll gates and toll houses, were as a rule non-violent, the toll-keeper having been warned of the attack in ample time. Most of these "riots" were around Carmarthen in south-central Wales, and were accompanied with letters from the ringleader in which he expressed pro-Welsh and anti-English sentiments that were duly reported in the newspapers. The letters and proclamations focused attention on national sentiments, on resistance to English domination (Coupland, 1954:180-183).

In 1846, three Commissioners--English, of course, not Welsh--were appointed by Parliament to look into the state of education in Wales. The Commissioners--Lingen, Symons, and Johnson--wrote three separate accounts that were remarkably similar and that slandered the Welsh, their language, morality, religion (nonconformism), and traditions (Coupland, 1954:185-199; K. O. Morgan, 1971:157). The three parts of the 1847 Report, issued with the usual blue Parliamentary covers, are collectively known among the Welsh as the "Treason of the Blue Books" (Brad y Llafrau Gleision). What is important about the 1847 Report is that it aroused a sense of national indignation, crystallized a sense of Welsh identity and unity, and spurred the Welsh on to renewed cultural efforts.

## FROM CULTURAL TO POLITICO-CULTURAL NATIONALISM

Welsh nationalism, it can be contended, is an important part of the evolution of British democracy since 1872 (K. O. Morgan, 1971:153), that is, of extending voting rights to rural and urban members of the working class, of development of class consciousness among farmers and hitherto mere "hired hands" in mines and factories. Movements such as Chartism and Owenism were movements for social equality; they affected both England and Wales. Chartism, for example, followed the establishment in 1836 of the "London Workingmen's Association for Benefitting Politically, Socially, and Morally the Useful Classes" (sic) and aimed at extending universal male suffrage (women were still economically unimportant) and abolishing property qualifications for M.P.'s, among other objectives (Cole and Westgate, 1961:279-291). Newport, Monmouthshire (Wales) figured in that movement as the scene of a violent confrontation between government troops and Chartists (Cole and Postgate, 1961:286). Issues of the Industrial Revolution were engulfing and affecting Wales.

The Welsh had to fight two different sets of masters before and after 1918. Before 1918, Anglican bishops and Anglicized gentry dominated Welsh life; after 1918, colliery owners. Before 1918, the Welsh, through the Liberal Party, strove to disestablish both the Church and the gentry; after 1918, through the Labour Party, their efforts became less conspicuously ethnic or Welsh and more conspicuously a part of those of the general British working-class. Before 1918, Welsh nationalism was unified; after 1918, it was fragmented, even quiescent until 1945. After 1945, Welsh nationalists began to mount a concerted effort against "instruments of English rule in Wales" (as some Welsh nationalists have called them): the courts, schools, and governmental bureaucracy. The Welsh attempted to bring about an institutional basis for their own aspirations, e.g., Welsh-medium schools.

The following are the major factors that have influenced Welsh nationalism from about 1850 to 1918:

## 1. Growth of Industry

Expansion of ironworks and collieries in South Wales helped, for a time, in the absorption of some of the impoverished population of the countryside. The growth of towns, such as Cardiff, Swansea, Barry, and Newport, contributed to the consolidation of national feeling as Welsh-language newspapers were published and literary and musical contests (*eisteddfodau*) were held. A working-class tradition was developed (K. O. Morgan, 1971:155-156).

## 2. Rise of Nonconformity (the Chapel Movement)

According to the 1851 religious census, four-fifths of Welsh worshippers attended chapels rather than the Anglican Church (K. O. Morgan, 1971:156). Religion and language were class-related--English and Anglicanism going together, Welsh and Nonconformity. The Welsh rebelled against the Test Acts, the tithe and burial laws, and the Church rates, debating these issues in Welsh journals, e.g., *Yr Amserau* (The Times) and chapels. The chapels were the locus of the Welsh nationalist movement. Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales "became the ultimate symbol of national equality, and the pressures for social and religious equality which were bound up with it" (K. O. Morgan, 1971:158).

"Disestablishment, agrarian and industrial reform, temperance, pacifism, those were the causes...that...drew the Welsh Nonconformists, townsfolk and countryfolk alike, into the Liberal fold" (Coupland, 1954:219). By 1880, religious conflict and cultural revival were the twin expressions of Welsh nationalism, but this nationalism was separatist only in religion (Coupland, 1954:221).

3. The Franchise Reforms

"The route to national liberation seemed to lie through the ballot box" (K. O. Morgan, 1971:158). After the 1872 Ballot Act, Welshmen could directly participate in political life. They overwhelmingly joined the Liberal Party, which championed their Disestablishment cause. Welshmen such as Tom Ellis, P. A. Thomas, and David Lloyd George became nationally famous. Finally, Disestablishment took effect in 1920, the year the 19th Amendment was passed in the U.S.A. granting women the right to vote (whereas Welshmen disestablished the Anglican Church, American Women the same year disestablished men's political supremacy).

The Local Government Act of 1888 enabled Nonconformists to be elected to county councils, supplanting the major landowners, Tory and Whig squires, who had ruled the countryside for centuries (K. O. Morgan, 1971:159). The political movements Welshmen established--e.g., Cymru Fydd (Young Wales) in 1887--were devolutionary, not separatist (Coupland, 1954:227-228).

4. The Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889

Nationalist movements are usually spearheaded by a rising social class, an elite. In the late 19th century in Wales, Welsh National causes were promoted by a chapel-going Nonconformist intelligentsia. The importance of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889 is that it created in Wales a network of county schools, hitherto unavailable, that provided a distinct avenue for social mobility in succeeding decades (K. O. Morgan, 1971:162).

The history of nationalism in Wales in the late 19th century is a history of education and of creating unifying and visible symbols for preservation of Welsh identity: The University of Wales, the Welsh National Library, and the Welsh Folk Museum.

"The University was in some respects the supreme achievement of nineteenth-century national consciousness, one in which the whole population shared. The subscriptions given by countless Welsh workingmen on the 'University Sunday' to finance the Welsh colleges stirred the public imagination" (K. O. Morgan, 1971: 162). It should be added that the creation of the University created a new class among Welshmen, an intelligentsia that has supplied leadership for Welsh nationalism.

The demand for Home Rule among the Welsh was quite weak until 1918. The entire Welsh national movement could be regarded as a campaign for recognition of "Neglected Wales," a campaign for national equality. But the equality sought was an "equality within the United Kingdom and an expanding empire, not severance from it" (K. O. Morgan, 1971:165).

After 1918, there was a rise of industrial militancy in Wales. The appeal was to class, not to nationality; the crusade was for a "living wage," not for Disestablishment and temperance reform. Plaid Cymru, the Welsh National Party, was established in 1925; it demanded dominion status for Wales, an almost complete political independence from England. But it made little headway for about 40 years (K. O. Morgan, 1971:168-169). In 1962, it began to lobby more vigorously on behalf of the Welsh language, considering the language its foremost priority.

## A WORD ABOUT PLAID CYMRU: THE POST-1945 PHASE

Loss of the British Empire after 1945, the worsening economic situation of Britain and the industrial strife associated with it (coal miners', transportation workers', and other strikes), encouragement of regionalism by the EEC (Common Market), and disillusionment with the Labour and Conservative Parties are some of the factors that have strengthened the quest of Welshmen for a measure of self-government. However, in Wales the Labour Party has been predominant for about half a century and still effectively controls the local patronage system. Any gains of Plaid Cymru would be at the expense of the Labour Party, which is still very powerful in Wales. It was only in 1966 that Gwynfor Evans, the President of Plaid Cymru, was elected to Parliament--the first time the Welsh National Party ever succeeded in winning a seat; only in early 1974 that the same Party could win two seats; and only in late 1974 in a by-election that Gwynfor Evans could regain his seat in Parliament.

On the whole, Welsh nationalism has been remarkably non-violent, Plaid Cymru itself being an emphatically peaceful movement, almost academic in tone, of "low profile," and a bit Utopian in its assertion of pre-industrial values and sentiments amid a rapidly urbanizing population. The small town (village life) and Sunday-School outlook is still an important feature of nationalism in Wales, which continues to be more cultural than political. It is almost as if Welsh nationalism was "a crusade....against the twentieth-century itself" (K. O. Morgan, 1971:171), against the encroachment of the Gesellschaft on a shrinking Gemeinschaft. One senses that is Wales.

Various indices of "internal colonialism" are apparent in the facts and figures gathered by Gwynfor Evans in response to his queries in Parliament when he was an M. P., 1966-68 (Black Paper on Wales, Book 3, 1969). Examples are the expenditures on health, education, housing, and other services in Wales as compared on the same basis with England. A particular feature that has infuriated Welshmen is the dismantling of various sections of the Welsh railway needlessly, thus destroying a workable and inexpensive transportation system ("Welsh Freedom": the Maiden Speech of G. Evans in Parliament on July 26, 1966). A distinct stratificational and occupational feature is that whereas Wales is dotted with teachers colleges that turn out annually a lot of teachers for the English market, it has only two polytechnic colleges. This is seen as a deliberate plan, a "huge subsidy" to England (Black Paper on Wales, Book 3, p. 46, 1969).

The quest of Wales is "Freedom rather than Independence" (G. Evans, 5/23/74: personal communication). Freedom is interpreted as economic links, as international status, a place in the UN and the Common Market, among other things; "independence is an immoral concept," for no one can be absolutely independent standing away from others. The goal is freedom, which stresses interdependence. "Plaid Cymru has never believed in economic separatism. In the modern world, no country--not even Britain--can be economically independent. We depend on each other and self-government will not disturb the economic union which exists between the countries of Britain" (Plaid Cymru, 20 Questions and Answers, n.d.: Q. 5, p. 4, emphasis added).

The central theme of the 1974 election platform of Plaid Cymru, entitled "Rich Welsh or Poor British," was self-government and implementation of the recommendations of the Kilbrandon Commission for establishment of a legislative assembly for Wales (Plaid Cymru Manifesto, 1974:sections 0.7; 3.2; 3.13; and 3.14). It is not yet clear whether Wales will get, if ever it does, a legislative or an executive assembly and to what extent the British Parliament would relinquish its power over major decisions concerning Wales.

1974 seemed the year when the Celts were coming in from the Fringe; it was as if a banner headline was proclaiming "The Celts Are Coming! The Celts Are Coming!"--the proclamation not being about Scottish football or Welsh rugby this time. Scottish oil, misnamed by London according to Scotsmen as "Northsea Oil," was in the news; Welshmen were also hoping for oil strikes off their shores and were inclined, especially those in Plaid Cymru, to declare Welsh water supplied to Bristol, Liverpool, Birmingham, and other English industrial centers as a Welsh national resource, almost as important as oil. Whatever Scotland gets, because of its prospective economic clout, in the way of a Scottish parliament or assembly is bound to be granted, perhaps in a modified form, to Wales. It would not be politically feasible for Labour, the Liberals, or Conservatives in power not to do so. Scottish nationalism has an important economic base recognizable by the whole of Britain and potentially in the service of devolution for both Scotland and Wales.

Scotland is rather far from England for the English to buy "holiday homes" in or move into in large numbers, whereas Wales is not. English settlers in Wales are on the increase, which further erodes the efforts of Plaid Cymru and similar organizations at safeguarding the Welsh language and what remains of Welsh village life (Welshmen who move to England are, of course, readily Anglicizable whereas the English in Wales are not that readily Welshifiable).

The advance of industrialization in South Wales from 1850 onwards and the deliberate exclusion of the Welsh language from school and governmental usage for a long time--cultural oppression and economic oppression being historically two sides of the same coin as some writers have contended (e.g., Meils, 1973:19), the coin labelled "internal colonialism" in this case--has resulted in the rapid decline of Welsh speakers. Currently only one-fifth of Welshmen speak Welsh, four-fifths are English monoglots. The controversy between the "one-fifth" and "four-fifths," the 20% vs. the 80% as it is sometimes called, is, obviously, not only linguistic but psychological and socio-economic. It is jobs and status and self-esteem. It is "torn consciousness," a legacy of "psychological violence" that the

English have bequeathed to Wales, a sense of inferiority, a self-hatred, a subservience over generations, as several Welshmen have described it. The insistence of Plaid Cymru on a bilingual Wales, on the issue of language as a central concern has, according to some observers, limited its appeal among the large majority of English-speakers in Wales. Unlike Labour, Plaid Cymru still does not have an economic influence in the daily life of Welshmen. In addition, its appeal is structurally circumscribed: at a time when, as it has been said, "Those who control the mass media control the hearts and minds of mass society," Plaid Cymru, the National Party of Wales, is limited to a "meagre five minutes annually" in radio and television time (G. Evans, Welsh Nationalist Aims, n.d.:3). The "major" parties--Labour, Liberals, and Conservatives--are not that drastically restricted.

Welsh nationalism has been far more cultural than political, far more integrative than separatist. Indeed, it has no modern martyrs. Fundamentally, it has been a cultural revitalization movement. Welsh nationalism now is essentially linguistic; it is a return to Fichte in seeing language as the supreme test of nationality, of ethnicity, and in seeing a nation deprived of its language as a nation deprived of its roots (C. Thomas, 1950:60-61; K. Morgan, 1971:172; R. Lewis, 1971:15; C. Rees, 1973:245-246).

# CHAPTER IV

# LAND, LANGUAGE, AND COMMUNITY

## LANGUAGE AS IDENTITY

Land, language, and community are intertwined in Wales. We begin with language, with two quotations as an introduction to the issue of language as identity:

> The industrial and agricultural experience of the past confronted Welsh-speaking, Nonconformist, Liberal wage earners and tenant-farmers with Anglicized, Anglican, Tory landlords and employers, as were Welsh workers elsewhere in Wales. English and Welsh were almost synonymous with landlord and tenant or capital and labour. As has often been pointed out, Disraeli's description of employers and employed as two nations applied literally to Wales (R. Frankenberg, Communities in Britain, 1971, p. 91, emphasis added).

> ....For a man to speak one language rather than another is a ritual act, it is a statement about one's personal status; to speak the same language as one's neighbours expresses solidarity with those neighbours, to speak a different language from one's neighbours expresses social distance or even hostility (E. R. Leach, "Political Systems of Highland Burma," 1954; quoted in Fishman, J. A. (ed.), Language Loyalty in the United States, 1966, p. 7, emphasis added).

Historically, language has been an aspect of stratification, sometimes vice-versa. Master and slaves, colonizer and colonized, conqueror and conquered spoke different languages or dialects; at times even men and women, teacher and taught used fundamentally different vocabularies; so did townsmen and villagers. Language marks off status.

Human groups, when they are not suppressed, usually take pride in the uniqueness of their language. Some have thought their language divinely inspired, used by God in selective communication. Examples of languages in which holy books have appeared are Hebrew (the Old Testament portion of the Bible), Arabic (the Koran), and, of course, American English (the Book of Mormon); the uniqueness of Aramaic and Colloquial Greek in which the New Testament has appeared remains unclaimed. Language, culture, and religion have always been closely intertwined in the life of groups, but it was not until the nineteenth century, the Victorian Age, that language began to be stressed as the essence of peoplehood. This was the age of nationalism, of the defensive and aggressive variety, the age of imperialism. Fichte, in his "Addresses to the German Nation: (Saemtliche Werke, Vol. VII), regarded language as synonymous with nationality and a nation deprived of its language as deprived of its humanity (K. Morgan, 1971:172). The French, with their proverbial idealization of their language, almost its deification, have continued to stress this theme, thus supporting emergent nationalist movements with appropriate, though not intended, slogans. Michelet, for example, has said, "La langue....le signe principal d'une nationalité" (quoted by the Vice-President of Plaid Cymru, R. Lewis, on the very title page of his book, Second-Class Citizen, 1969). Saussure has also said, "C'est dans une large mesure la langue qui fait la Nation" (quoted by E. Maurer in his study of a Welsh-speaking community in North Wales, Religion et Nationalisme chez les Gallois, 1971:27, in listing suppression of the native language among Welsh grievances). Among the Ashkenazi Jews of Tsarist Russia and Poland, different types of nationalism were associated with different languages: whereas the "Jewish Labor Bund of Russia, Lithuania, and Poland" emphasized Yiddish, the Zionist movement emphasized Hebrew. Later on, there was a conflict between the two languages, known as "Riv Haloshoynes," with Hebrew--although traditionally regarded as a sacred tongue, "Loyshen Koydesh," fit only for prayer--becoming, among the non-Diasporized, the language of daily life and a synonym for nationality (Fishman, 1968:49-50). A shift in language is a shift in identity.

## LANGUAGES AS ETHNIC BOUNDARIES

The concept of "ethnic boundaries," devised by the Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth, is part of his interest in ethnic groups as symbolic systems rather than socio-economic networks. For this reason, boundaries for Barth are social processes of exclusion and incorporation, criteria for membership (1969:10, 38); ascription is the critical feature of ethnic groups (1969:14). Essentially, this is a social-psychological formulation of ethnic boundaries and needs to be seen, in the interest of clarity through a larger context, as an expression of social organizational (stratification) features, e.g. those determined historically by conquest, colonialism, migration, religious conversion, or symbiotic trade or occupational relationships.

In this sense we can say, being well aware it is only a matter of emphasis, "There is no psychology without a sociology; there is no sociology without an anthropology; there is no anthropology without history" and, of course, vice-versa!

Ethnic boundaries, according to Barth, are rooted in differentiae and diacritica, that is, in critical distinguishing features (1969:14, 35, 38). These are of two kinds: (1) physical, e.g., language, dress, house type, general style of life; and (2) basic value orientations, that is, standards of morality and excellence. These are but criteria for ethnic membership and ethnic identity, demarcation lines between in-groups and out-groups. Without ethnic boundaries, there can be no ethnic identity. Language, in cultural revitalization movements, seems to be the supreme boundary.

It is no longer essentially dress (except on ceremonial occasions when Scotsmen don their kilts), or physiognomy, or food pattern that differentiate the inhabitants of what is known in Britain as the "Celtic Fringe" from their counterparts in England. Increasingly, the native languages of the Celtic regions are being advanced as the essential ethnic boundary. Indeed, the current revival of the suppressed Celtic languages in Britain--of Gaelic in Scotland, Welsh in Wales, and Cornish in Cornwall--is seen by the native speakers as the sine qua non for definition of national identity, of Gaeldom ("Gaidhealtachd") in the Highlands, Welshness ("Cymreictod") in Wales, and Cornishness ("Kernuaktod") in Cornwall. In each of these three regions there is a society for the promotion of the non-English native language: the Gaelic

Language Society ("Comunn na Cànain Albannaich"), the Welsh Language Society ("Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg"), and the Cornish Language Society ("Mebyon Kernow"). Increasingly, the activism of these language societies (e.g., the lobbying for bilingual road signs and the tearing down of "English only" road signs) is carried out by university students who seem thus to have found a new role and a new avenue of political release. Without the native language, the native speakers are saying that Scotland, Wales, and Cornwall would simply be "just another English county or region", not "nations."

A language, in a very real sense, is the pedigree of a people; for a Welshman, it unlocks centuries of the Welsh experience, of a unique way of symbolizing the world and expressing human emotions and social relations. Language is both the social history of a people and its anschauung; it structures both the social perception of a people's past as well as interpretation of its future. Language creates consciousness; as Naipaul (1972) has said, a native language ties a people more closely to its landscape and breeds definable loyalties to it. On the other hand, an adopted language, as Sartre maintains (cited in N. Thomas, Planet, 11:24, May 1972), is, for the native writer, a kind of prison, for it is the creation of a different civilization. In short, a native language is a language of regeneration; it is an indispensable tool for cultural resurgence. Nationalism, quite often, is linguistic nationalism; ethnicity is increasingly written in language terms.

Culture may be defined as a people's way of life as symbolized by language, as the social system which is mediated by language (Washburn, 1968:54). A decline of a native language such as Welsh is but a decline of Welsh cultural life, for language is inseparable from national identity. Such decline in Wales has, as Ned Thomas has pointed out, produced two kinds of Welsh incompletenesses: erosion of the Welsh-speaking community until it is very hard for it to live a full life in Welsh, and cultural disinheritance of the English-speaking community in Wales to the point of losing a richness of history and association that is the very nourishment of personal and group identity (Thomas, It Beaken, 36:10, 1974). The current fight for revival of Welsh in Wales, for gaining for it the status of an "official language" along with English is but a fight for national identity.

Imposed inferiority on a language is but imposed inferiority on the person; it is a crucial index of status inferiority. As a Welsh-speaking writer maintains, "as long as the Welsh language (and by implication Welsh-speaking Welshmen) is officially compelled to be the second language, the feeling of imposed inferiority and the intensification of that feeling will offer the greatest threat to the established order in Wales" (Price, Planet, 7:18, August-September, 1971, emphasis added). Of course, other factors will have to be present in order for a threat to be actually a threat, but the point is that any attack on one's language is but an attack on one's personal integrity and on one's group's integrity, for the person is essentially a reflection of his group affiliations. Indeed, history is replete with instances of attack on a people's language as a means of killing a people's culture and sense of identity: the Russians in Poland; the English in Cornwall, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and in South Africa against the Boer settlers; the French in Brittany; the Spanish in the land of the Basques and in Catalonia; and many others. It is perhaps a tribute to the human spirit that attempts at killing a language have not always succeeded, that ethnicity continues to be quite often tied to a native language. Currently, there are a number of "banned languages" throughout the world, whose native speakers are condemned to second-class citizenship. In addition, there are instances of "shell nationalism" or "hollow-core nationality," that is, one that is almost obsolete or quite dormant but that can be refilled several generations later. Obviously, ethnic relations need to be examined not only when they are heating up but also when they are dormant or semi-dormant.

## A NOTE ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF LOSS OF LANGUAGE

In Wales, the English have succeeded in making Welsh a "pariah language" (G. Evans, Parliamentary Speeches, 1968:2). As long as Welsh is not an official language in Wales, on an equal footing with English, Welshmen will continue to feel as "foreigners in their own land for speaking their mother tongue" (Plaid Cymru, 1974 Election Platform entitled Rich Welsh or Poor British, item No. 2.40).

Because of the close tie between Anglicization and social mobility, Welsh in this century has represented working-class or gwerin (folk) solidarity. An escape from working-class origins has meant, for a significant number of Welshmen, an escape from their native language, much as has been customary among non-English immigrants to America especially in the latter part of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth. An Anglicized Welsh-speaking Welshman quite often in the first generation of social mobility a bit upwards has had to suppress his childhood memories, kinship ties, or family heritage, regarding his pre-Anglicization with hatred or contempt. This is a well-known phenomenon in sociological literature; the literature on immigrants in America is replete with similar cases (cf. Wheeler, 1972). On the other hand, when a post-working-class elite emerges, a third-generation quest for roots also emerges--a return to what grandparents or parents had rejected (cf. Hansen's work on the Americanization of immigrants, e.g., 1952). This is currently a situation true of some Welshmen--English-speaking monoglots who studied Welsh as adults and have made it their main language. Examples abound: the President of Plaid Cymru (see Chris Rees, 1973:244), the headmaster of a Welsh-medium secondary school who is a product of an English Public School, poets, and writers. Some English-speaking parents whose grandparents "had broken the chain" (the language chain) are sending their own children to Welsh-medium schools, which may be 20-25 miles each way daily, and themselves attending Welsh evening classes. Such is the sense of loss and the sense of regaining a valuable possession. What some of them say they have regained is their Welshness, their hitherto suppressed or neglected identity.

For some Welshmen, Welsh is more important than self-government, e.g., the famous author and playwright, Saunders

Lewis (A. R. Jones and G. Thomas, 1973:127-141; C. Rees, 1973:242). Their priorities are: "first revival of the language, then political freedom." The 1974 election platform of Plaid Cymru stresses not mere preservation but "full restoration of the Welsh language within two generations" (item No. 3.1). For Welshmen such as Saunders Lewis, "the difference between Wales and England /is/ still basically one of language and in this alone /lies/ the justification for separate political institutions for Wales" (C. Rees, 1973:243).

Welsh-speaking Welshmen tend to idealize their language, viewing it as something precious that they may lose, leaving them cut from their roots. They point out how their bards have constantly identified their language with their nation--"ein hiaith, ein gwlad, ein cenedl" (our language, our country, our nation). Some contend that the word for language in Welsh, Iaith, originally meant both language and nation (community) and that the word for "foreigner" was Anghyfiaith, literally, "not of the same language"; for compatriot or countryman, Cyfiaith, that is, "of the same language." The same informant added, "One's language gives one a primordial or mystical feeling, a celebration of heritage....The Danes have a metaphysical notion of language: Language is not lost; it goes to sleep in the minds of each generation not using it" (10/31/73 Field Notes).

Additional points concerning the "psychology of the loss of language," as a perceptive informant conceptualized the issue of stigmatized identity that lies behind the suppression of language, are the following:

1. Many Welshmen, even non-Welsh-speaking ones, think

of Welsh as the "language of the heart"; of English, as being "cold and analytic" (with the implication that English is somehow foreign to the nature of Welshmen). This assertion is usually associated with two slightly different contexts: (a) idealization of Welsh as a folk language capable of expressing a subtlety of emotions, personality types, moods, cogent proverbs, and an eloquent range of commendations and insults not readily found in English--a legacy of Welsh history and way of life unique to the language; and (b) a remembrance of things past, that is, a vivid contrast between the attitudes and outlooks of one's Welsh-speaking parents or grandparents and the world of commerce or governmental bureaucracy one has moved into in Cardiff, Swansea, or other urban center. In other words, the assertion of language, and the yearning towards language, is part of the assertion and yearning for a lost Gemeinschaft, the little close-knit community.

The competition between Welsh and English, as a competition between a folk and an industrial language, could perhaps be better explained in a larger context. A Swedish-speaking colleague of mine, knowledgeable about the controversy between "Riksmaal" and "Nynorsk" within Norwegian itself and between Finnish and Swedish in Finland, is of the opinion that the use of the Welsh language by Welsh-speaking Welshmen enables them in some ways to handle cognitive categories in a more "integrated" manner than they could handle corresponding categories in English. In other words, perhaps the use of ancient dialects and languages that are considered archaic by speakers of English (or any industrially-honed language) and the insistence on their use, represents a recognition that such languages and dialects in some sense contain concepts, or ways of referring to concepts, that make perceived experience less confused and uncodable than the categories provided by the dominant language (Bo Anderson, 1974:personal communication). This assumption is correct at least on three counts: (a) a folk language is usually true to itself; it does not have what George Orwell has called "Newspeak" (e.g., "protective reaction strikes" to mean [illegible] Force bombings); it is not part of what Albert Camus must have thought of when he said "Let us return to words their original meanings," for its meaning system is more stable. (b) There is a fundamental richness of meaning in modern Welsh poetry even when translated into English; the same in English poetry written by the Anglo-Welsh such as Dylan Thomas. (c) Welsh-speaking Welshmen share unique ways of seeing the world and conceptualizing experience, part of the genius of Welsh itself as a language, e.g., the richly connotative Hiraeth, Tangnefedd, and Aros Mae; even "Iaith y Fam" (mother tongue) has a depth and a bondedness not easily translatable, nor found in the English equivalent. (The first two Welsh words express a longing for land, people, culture of Wales, for Wales's Welshness, the sort of psychological atavism found, for example, in Ivan Peale's Welsh poetry--cf. "Alhaneen Lilwattan" and "Ergett Hadorot Litsiyon" in other ancient languages. Aros Mae is part of a famous poem; "Aros Mae'r Mynyddoedd Mawr," "The ancient hills stay on for ever," thus the two words in English only mean "It still remains," but in Welsh have a profound connotation and a wealth of association.)

2. Welshmen are proud of the fact that some sixth-century poetry still survives in Welsh; that Welsh has had a long literary tradition, longer than English itself; and that, as Professor Jac L. Williams suggests (1973b:92), Welsh was the language of administration, education, and law long before any of the surviving languages of modern Europe. Welshmen are also proud of certain characteristics of Welsh that are not shared by English, e.g., the consonantal nature of their language which is manifest in an elaborate system of mutations (whereby the forms of words, depending on location, change rather drastically) and the "consonantal chiming" peculiar to the englyn poetry, a remarkable chiselling of consonantal sequence and rhyme that is untranslatable and unreproducible in non-Celtic languages (Griffith, 1968:93-94). More simply, Welshmen contend that whereas English has only two major ways of making plurals (addition of "s" and vowel change), Welsh has seven--which in their opinion gives it suppleness rather than monotony.

3. The Welsh language is closely bound up with nonconformist Christianity in Wales, with worship and religious observance. When a non-Welsh speaking Welsh woman, a member of a local board of education, says during a public discussion in answer to the question "Welsh, but what is it good for?" that it is the language she prays in and that's a good enough reason, her remark is immediately understood and admired as a fitting response. Members of an English-speaking church congregation would, for example, mention that they liked their former Welsh minister very much because he used snippets of Welsh in the service unlike their current English minister. An English-speaking

bus driver would say that he always listened to Welsh service on the radio even though he understood only a few words in Welsh. English-speaking Welshmen from all walks of life are not completely cut off from Welsh; it still has a positive emotional appeal to them. Theirs perhaps is a case of biculturalism but only with monolingualism.

4. There are some Welsh-speaking Welshmen and women who have a sense of guilt because they have "broken the chain," have not taught their native language to their children. There are others, however, who have experienced feelings of self-hatred. As one woman who had suppressed her knowledge of Welsh from her teen-age years onwards said to her in-laws in a moment of self-revelation: "I felt if I killed the language it won't point a finger at me, it won't accuse me, it won't shame me or haunt me" (10/31/73 field notes). The problem of "killing" one's language is a problem of suppressed identity, of conquered people, of stigmatized people. Eidheim (1969:39-57) discusses this problem most eloquently with reference to Lapp speakers living among Norwegians. Parallels can be seen among Indians, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans in the U.S.A., as well as traditionally among some non-British immigrants to America.

As some Welshmen see it, it is unhealthy for a people not to speak its language in its own country. Consequently, there is something healing, they say, about the ability of some parents to relearn Welsh through their children, to relive Welsh culture by sending their children to Welsh-medium schools.

With regard to Welshness, or Welsh identity nourished by the Welsh language, some Welsh-speaking Welshmen believe the rule should be: "Either you come home or get lost. Nothing in between. The middle ground means a schizophrenic situation" (3/13/74 field notes). The literature on marginality, assimilation, and "passing" in American society deals with similar situations.

All over Wales, one hears stories of personal sacrifice, of hard work and almost super-human efforts on behalf of the Welsh language. Some children are driven by their parents to a Welsh-medium school 20 miles each way daily. Others are going to evening school to learn Welsh to be able to share in that same understanding of the language their own children are acquiring. Others, in an effort to shelter their children from the influence of English will not, in a policy of "total saturation" in Welsh, allow the use of English at home at all until the children are of school age, and then only very sparingly. A university professor who spoke Welsh but his wife did not used to speak only Welsh to his children whereas his wife spoke English to them until she herself did master Welsh. The children were genuinely bilingual; one of the daughters insisted on writing and defending her dissertation in Welsh, the first student ever to do so at the University of Wales. There are grandparents now learning Welsh in order to communicate in Welsh with their grandchildren (the "chain restored"). There are grandchildren who can communicate in Welsh with one of the grandparents and when they do not want their own English monoglot parents to understand resort to Welsh to emphasize temporarily the generation gap. And so on.

5. There are also some Welsh-speaking Welshmen who see no value in children learning Welsh, who are opposed to its

introduction as a medium or subject in schools, or as a means of communication and record-keeping in government agencies. Some of the foremost opponents to an emphasis on Welsh in Wales are George Thomas (former Labour MP and Secretary of State for Wales); Leo Abse, MP; and George Brown (Lord Brown), who has told Welsh-speaking Welshmen, "The price of beef is more important than your 'bloody language'" and of course his! Only 14 out of the 36 Welsh Members of Parliament are Welsh-speaking (C. Rees, 1973:244-245; G. Evans, 1973:87).

"The English," according to some Welsh-speaking Welshmen, "seem to think that any time English is introduced to a place, any other language must go out the window, vanish, disappear....The English wherever they were never learned other people's languages. They seemed to think that if they just shouted and hollered, other people would understand them (there followed a demonstration of short-clipped stammers and 'Good Gods' to mimick how an Englishman would have talked to the natives in India or an African colony). The worst thing is that they always got away with that!" (11/30/73 Field Notes). Some Welshmen see what they call English law, English courts, the police, the schools, and the English language as "tools of English rule in Wales" (ibid.).

Welsh nationalists tend to resent the English accusation that nationalism is a phenomenon peculiar to Welshmen when the English themselves have a well-developed nationalism of their own pertaining to language, schools, law courts, history, and sense of tradition. The former maintain that the only form of nationalism acceptable to the English in Wales and outside Wales is English nationalism, that the Welsh are actually called upon by the English to renounce their own cultural identity in favor of an English one--a case of the pot not only calling the kettle black but also asserting that the only acceptable color is its own seemingly invisible type of blackness! As an illustration, Welsh nationalists advance the following quotation--taken from the Report of an Education Commission, entitled "The Teaching of English in England"--at first, to shock their audience, substituting "Welsh" wherever "English" occurs, then reading the passage in its original form:

> We state what appears to us to be an incontrovertible primary fact that for English children no form of knowledge can take precedence over English, no form of literature can take precedence over English literature, and that the two are so inextricably connected as to form the only basis possible for a national education...., for English is not only the medium of our thought, it is the very stuff and process of it....the element in which we live and work is itself the English mind (quoted by R. Lewis, 1971:11, emphasis in the original).

It is not that English educators, like all other educators--i.e., as perpetrators of the socio-political system--do not say such things, but that the complete and specific source of the aforementioned quotation is conveniently left out by R. Lewis, though he himself is a lawyer by profession and is thus expected to be in favor of full "evidence"! One would have liked to have been able to read the work of which this quotation is only a part.

Stigmatized identity manifests itself in various forms among Welsh-speaking Welshmen who are pro, not anti-, their native tongue. Examples are:

(a) A university lecturer, the quiet, decent type, for whom Welshness is something taken for granted, not a flag-waving phenomenon, meets his sister and her family in London and, naturally enough, speaks Welsh with her in a restaurant. The man at the next table thrusts his cup of tea at them, bangs it on the table, and snarls, "I do hate foreigners," and walks away in a huff. Says the lecturer, "It is the first time I have been called a foreigner in my own country." What the lecturer does not say, but what is known about him, is that he sustained a permanent leg injury from World War II in defense of England, an injury that still causes him trouble. (Some English proprietors of hotels in Cardiff do resent their Welsh guests when they converse in Welsh and they, or their pro-English guests, usually make a dramatic gesture towards the television set in the lobby when "Heddiw" (Today) or any other Welsh program appears, changing the station at the very moment their faces register irritation, disgust, or derision.) Instances of linguistic colonialism are not unfamiliar in Belgium, Canada, or elsewhere.

(b) The head of a research project drives daily to his work outside Cardiff, passing by the headquarters of BBC Wales in Llandaff on the way. He says that seeing the two Welsh signs for "Entry" and "Exit" on the edge of the BBC car park (parking lot) fills him with thrill and cheers him for the day. "I know these are little things, insignificant and unimportant to you perhaps, but we've had to fight for a life time to see even one sign in Welsh....When you are deprived of seeing your own language honoured in your own country, you feel as if you are being continually kicked in the teeth,....that you have no existence" (3/27/74 Field Notes). An image somehow comes to mind, illustrative not of the Welsh-English case specifically but of the extreme genre: In the series called "World at War" (Thames Television) narrated by Laurence Olivier, the camera, in one scene, spans a devastated street in the Leningrad of 1942-43 to show traces of German occupation--local buildings marked "Deutscheshaus" and "Reichskommisar" just in one language (a film presentation shown in the Boston area on Channel 4, an NBC station, 1/27/75, 7:30-8:00 p.m.). Obviously, signs are only for the benefit of the conqueror, not the conquered.

Cardiff has several bilingual signs but the English more than meets the eye--being on top (literally), it drives away the necessity of reading the Welsh underneath. Bilingual signs in Wales's capital, even with the Welsh topographically inferior, is a very recent phenomenon there, won after much agitation on behalf of the Welsh language.

(c) The conqueror is the one who usually writes the history of the conquered, rendering it inconsequential or vacuous. Resurgent nations usually rewrite their history, looking for instances of "success" prior to the advent of the conqueror and endurance and inner strength when they have felt his heel, literally or symbolically. They seek continuity with a "glorious past." Currently, one of the most famous works on Welsh history in Welsh is Aros Mae, written with warmth, compassion, and pride. (The author, Gwynfor Evans, is not a professional historian but a poet at heart. He is the President of Plaid Cymru and, in a return to the land and the village community, a lawyer turned farmer.) Several informants have remarked to me that they read it for inspiration, for nourishment of their identity as Welshmen, for recapturing the past. They read it for sustenance; it restoreth their pride. The title itself is immediately inspirational, pointing to the mountains of Wales as the essence of Wales and the symbol of its endurance, these mountains having for a long time enabled the Welsh to keep their conqueror at bay (6th to end of 13th century). Indeed, the symbol of Plaid Cymru is itself three mountain peaks. Besides, the title of this book is part of a famous poem, and among poetry-loving people, there is a certain enchantment, almost intoxication, with what, in a poem, enables them to make the past present, to hold a conversation with their ancestors so to speak. Aros Mae is a song of praise, a hymnal to Wales, written in Welsh in 1971 and translated into English in 1974. Throughout 1973-74, there was a certain excitement among some Welsh speakers in Aberystwyth and Cardiff, friendly argumentation as to how the title, Aros Mae, might be rendered into English, and a hope that the book would soon appear in English for the Anglo-Welsh and the non-Welsh to read. The title finally chosen for the English edition of Aros Mae is Land of My Fathers, non-epic but adequate. When one asks how a suppressed identity is associated with a native language, one can see it in a poem lost, a history untold, a system of meanings killed, and an expressiveness rendered obsolete or--to coin a modifier--Englishly irrelevant. A native language, Welsh or English, is part of the person's being; its suppression is his suppression.

As an English couple put it--one of the very few to move to Wales, learn Welsh, and send their children to a Welsh-medium school--in Britain people are tradition bound, they try to preserve old buildings and species of animals and birds, yet they do not care about cultures, about an endangered way of life or an endangered language. Yet Wales and the Welsh tradition provide a welcome variety within Britain.

The issue of language is neatly summarized by Fishlock through a series of contrastive statements (1972:49-50):

> In one sense Welsh is the mainspring, the most potent force of Welsh life, the expression of the Welsh heart, yet three-quarters of the people do not speak it. People observe with despair and rage its decline--and when they take action they are praised as heroes on one side, branded as fanatics on the other. The language is declining and pessimism is to be found everywhere, yet it is clearly and vigorously alive. It is deeply loved, yet also loathed. It is useless but also important and vital. It should be a great force for unity, but it frequently divides. Some Welsh-speakers care very little for the future of their language. Some English-speakers who cannot understand its words, but understand something of its mystery, champion its cause. It enjoys bad will and good will.

## THE WELSH-WELSH AND THE ANGLO-WELSH: THE DRAGON HAS TWO TONGUES

The symbol of Wales is the Red Dragon ("Y Ddraig Goch"); the Welsh language is called the Dragon's Tongue ("Tafod y Ddraig"). Since 1870, however, Wales's Dragon has become increasingly bilingual, its forked tongue symbolizing, at least for the Anglo-Welsh, both Welsh and English. The symbolism, of course, is not only linguistic but psychological and socio-economic as well. (The language and literature approach, rather than the sociological, is still the most popular in Wales. See, for example, Gerald Morgan's book, The Dragon's Tongue, 1966, concerning the changing fortunes of the Welsh language, and Glyn Jones's book, The Dragon Has Two Tongues, which deals with Anglo-Welsh poets.)

The population of Wales, outwardly at least, is divisible into two kinds: Welsh-speaking and English-speaking. But this division hides important ethnic and socio-economic nuances. The Welsh-speaking segment of the population includes people traditionally of Welsh descent, that is, Celts and those they have historically assimilated such as migrants from England and elsewhere. The English-speaking segment is composed of three elements:

(a) Predominantly of Welshmen who have lost Welsh as a mother-tongue in the last two or three generations and who are known as Anglo-Welsh.

(b) Descendents of Irishmen and of Englishmen who had settled in Wales prior to World War I when South Wales was industrialized, who have continued to be English-speaking and to regard Welsh, like many of the

Anglo-Welsh, as irrelevant to an industrial Britain.

(c) English newcomers to Wales--owners of farms, holiday homes, hotels and guest houses, government bureaucrats, and some staff members at the 5 constituent colleges of the University of Wales and similar establishments--who are not Welsh emotionally, do not over-emphasize their Englishness, and tend conveniently to label themselves "British" rather than "Welsh."

The Welsh-speaking Welshmen who speak Welsh to their children and send them to Welsh-medium schools, who have Welsh-speaking close friends, and who use Welsh in daily life--in short, those who according to themselves "live a full Welsh life" (a key phrase among them)--think of themselves as the true Welshmen and regard the Anglo-Welsh as having strayed from tradition and the path of righteousness, as not being true to themselves or to Wales. The issue of language, of Welsh vs. English and English vs. Welsh, has brought about a split consciousness among Welshmen, a crisis in identity. According to Welsh-speaking Welshmen, by which is meant those who are for the language and actively promote it, the language is the core of Welshness. In Welsh, a Welsh-speaking Welshman is called *Cymro Ronc*, that is, a true Welshman, or *Cymroi'r Carn*, that is, Welshman to the core, or Welshman through and through, whereas an English-speaking Welshman, by which is meant a Welshman who is an English monoglot, is a *Sais-o-Gymro*, that is, an Englishman of a Welshman. Welshness, *Cymreictod*, is anchored in Cymraeg, not in Saesneg, in the Welsh language, not the language of the Saes, the Saxon. This emphasis on the language as the core of identity is almost like an emphasis on religion, be it Protestantism or Catholicism, in 16th and 17th century Europe. Language is a substitute for an element of cohesiveness and coherence lost in an increasingly industrialized, and thus increasingly depersonalized or privatized, world.

According to the Cymry Ronc, the "true Welshmen," i.e., the Welsh-speaking Welshmen, there is an element of betrayal, of straying from the fold, of treachery in the way some of the Anglo-Welsh have been, and are, against Welshness and the Welsh language. Ethnic and religious groups usually have labels to praise those who practice the true faith and to damn those who betray it or are always outside it. Welsh-speaking Welshmen, proponents of a cultural resurgence based on the Welsh language, have sought to set up criteria for differentiation on two fronts: (a) between the Welsh and the English in general, and (b) internally, between the English-speaking Welshmen and the Welsh-speaking Welshmen. A parallel, though a more intense and complex example is reported by Solomon Poll (1969:279-287) in his study of the Orthodox Hasidic Jews who dwell in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, a religious group devoted to strict observance of their faith amidst secular encroachments from both Gentiles and non-Orthodox co-religionists. Among the elaborate categories for in-group and out-group types the Hasidim use are Erlicher Yidden durch und durch or Frumer Yidden (i.e., honest through and through or religiously observant) for themselves, but Goyishe Goyim for the straight goyim (the Gentile

Gentiles) and Yiddishe Goyim for the half-goyim (Jews considered Gentiles). Humans constantly coin "labels of primary potency" (to adapt a label from the social psychologist Allport) to mark off boundaries between them and others, boundaries that may be religious, ethnic, racial, or occupational. In the world of academe in America with its intense departmentalization, sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, and others have similar designations, pro or contra, for themselves and one another. Perhaps the title of a book by Edwyn Gray (1971) sums it all--"A Damned Un-English Weapon: The Story of Submarine Warfare, 1914-1918" (emphasis added). Why not "Un-British"?

Is a Welshman who doesn't speak Welsh equivalent to an Englishman who doesn't speak English? Because he speaks English but is not an Englishman, is the Welshman who does not speak Welsh neither psychologically British nor Welsh, that is, essentially a "marginal man"? Such questions point to the interdependence of language and identity in Wales, to issues of torn consciousness, ambivalence, self-hatred and language-hatred, and split or suppressed identity that are part of the legacy of Wales's long association with England; indeed, of the post-colonial legacy everywhere.

What do the English-speaking Welshmen, the Anglo-Welsh, themselves think of these issues? Many of the Anglo-Welsh are well-disposed towards their ancestral language and send their children to Welsh-medium schools (among other things, because these schools teach English well) and may themselves attend evening classes to learn Welsh. But the greatest majority of the Anglo-Welsh are currently against the Welsh language and think that it is a waste of time to teac[illegible]r learn it since Wales already has a world language, English. English is the language of "getting on" ("getting ahead," in American English), Welsh is good for chapel on Sunday or for a kid to use to speak with his mother but not for "commerce" (business purposes). The anti-Welsh Anglo-Welsh make their living through English and may have worked for a long time in England or were educated in England prior to coming back to Wales--to coin an equivalent phrase--to "live a full life in English." Welsh-speaking Welshmen think that the anti-Welsh Welshmen have been "brain-washed" (a word they constantly use in this context) to despise their language and themselves.

Some Anglo-Welshmen, upper middle-classmen socio-economically, have a financial as well as an emotional investment to protect, their jobs and contacts and way of life. Hence, they eschew any association with the Welsh language because assertion of a pro-Welsh attitude may earn them the label "nationalists" or "fanatics" and jeopardize their careers. Some proclaim their self-alienation and cultural alienation directly so that their reputation for that may spread or be maintained; others, indirectly. Quoth a Welsh-speaking Welshman--a university professor who has for a long time suppressed his Welsh and over-asserted his English because, *inter alia*, of the demands made upon him to be pro-Welsh by his colleagues--in learning of this writer's interest in studying Welsh-English relations, "I am speechless! *That I am Welsh is fortuitous*" (5/14/74 Field Notes). He later on in the interview indicated that at home he did watch BBC-Wales in Welsh and that on that occasion his two teenage children would utter appropriate exasperations or teasing remarks and leave the room, abandoning the television set all to himself. "Many of the executives (in a choice part of the city, newly developed) are opposed to the Welsh language because they themselves are mobile and hate to have their children waste (said with emphasis) two years learning Welsh instead of French or German or biology or something else" (Ibid.). He said, however, that many professional people send their sons and daughters to Welsh schools (Welsh-medium schools). Why? Unlike him, "they are hedging their bets!" (Ibid.). Another informant, a senior man in a government agency, who is one of those "hedging their bets" sends his daughter to a Welsh-medium school because of the overall excellent academic reputation of that school. He, however, seems to think that any book favorable to Wales is at fault. He thinks, for example, "Fishlock is too sympathetic to the Welsh" (3/28/74 Field Notes),though Fishlock's book, Wales and the Welsh (1972) gives adequate reasons for any display of sympathy and is not uncritical of certain facets of Wales and the Welsh.

The urbanized, half rootless, upper middle-class Anglo-Welsh tend not to be sympathetic to the Welsh language. The same can be said of some rural Welshmen in perennially depopulated areas and mobility-prone others in the South of Wales. Both are nomads, one having arrived socio-economically; the other on the way.

Some of the Welsh-speaking Welshmen who have moved up socially and occupied high positions in the Ministry of Education or similar governmental agencies are Establishment men through and through ("durch und durch," or what Americans call "Organization Men"). They are against teaching Welsh in schools beyond considering it relevant just for literary purposes--much as Latin is for reading Latin poetry, Horace or Virgil--and are certainly opposed to using it as a medium of instruction.

> Why teach Welsh? (in an exasperated tone of voice). Welsh has no present, let alone a future (said very emphatically)....What is the purpose of teaching Welsh? That's the important question. It is fine to teach Welsh to understand old Welsh poetry and literature--I think Rhydfelen (School) has a good program in the humanities, but they still have to teach science in English....Students need to know English and need French, so Welsh is useless and a waste of time, and many consider it so....The essential question is What's the purpose of teaching Welsh? Not the sentimental purpose but the practical purpose. If people ask such questions, they are considered unpatriotic by other Welshmen (said with a trace of anger or slight bitterness)....The Welsh language is now mainly unrelated to present-day Welsh culture. Present-day, urban, post-industrial, non-folk culture is not exclusively Welsh culture; it is English and American among other things. So if we want to teach the language to preserve the culture it is futile....Teaching Welsh is linked with a folk culture which is dying. Wales is not linked to that culture any more (3/27/74 Field Notes).

The same informant stressed his basic assumption about English being the language of an industrial culture, Welsh being the language of a non-twentieth-century folk culture:

....Wales has no cultural unity....Teaching Welsh to children now is like teaching a group of Navajos who had lived in New York City for 200 years how to live on the Reservation again! (the metaphor is incorrect)....R. T. Jenkins, Professor of History at Bangor (University College, Bangor), a great patriot ("patriot" said with a certain emphasis as if it had a special meaning for the speaker, as if he were trying to ward off a sting) said about 50 years ago that the only difference between Welsh folk culture and English folk culture was the Welsh language, nothing else (I don't get the point....perhaps the speaker meant that Welsh folk culture would vanish just as English folk culture was transformed into an industrial one, or perhaps he thought that the Welsh folk culture could still be preserved even when the folk, the gwerin, would speak English! My notes are unclear on this point)....Actually Wales has a number of cultures: (1) There is the rural, folk culture in a few villages. This is a dying culture; we can't educate urban Welsh youth to go back to it....It is a sixteenth-century folk culture, rural culture. (2) There is the post-industrial, urban culture, the culture of the majority, a twentieth-century culture (why "post-industrial" than just "industrial" is left unexplored, the "post" lending the term a sense of finality and transition as if humans had just closed the books on a whole era and are now wrestling with its aftermath!). (3) Finally, there is traditional English culture in the Welsh Marches, Monmouthshire, Pembrokeshire.... People in Flintshire, Monmouthshire,(etc.), are only sentimentally Welsh. If you ask them where their affiliations and sympathies (said with a certain tarrying over each syllable--one somehow

> recalls A-S as an abbreviation for these two words as well as for Anglo-Saxonism, an important issue in the crisis and history of American identity in the late 19th century, an Englishness not unlike the gauge the Welsh speaker was using) are, they'd tell you they are British. Down deep, their loyalty is to Britain as a whole, not to Wales (3/27/74 Field Notes).

One of the main points of this knowledgeable, though anti-Welsh Welsh-speaking informant, is that three languages in the schools of Wales is too much for students (English, Welsh, and French), so Welsh must go.

> The Welsh language is under attack, but I think Welsh boys and girls are also under attack, and .... I am more concerned with their welfare than with the welfare of the Welsh language .... Like my grandparents, I too will one day die, but it doesn't mean that I want to live like my grandparents nor does it mean that my children and grandchildren should be like me (he looks at his wife, a gracious woman who had served us tea and delicious Welsh cookies and also sat in on this part of the conversation feeling, I gathered, a bit uncomfortable whenever her husband said something not in favor of the Welsh language--you could see it in her gestures, face and eyes that she was a pro-Welsh Welsh-speaker) (3/27/74 Field Notes, No. 264-B).

English is important for social mobility. In Albuquerque, New Mexico, the same imformant has met American Indians who "are very eager to learn English, not Navajo. They want to improve their lot."

What is the economic value of a language? "What is Welsh good for?" asked a pro-Welsh Welsh-speaker, active in Welsh literary circles, after a long conversation about the fate of the language. He pondered the question sadly for a long moment, then said with conviction, "I know, it is the language of regeneration, that is what Welsh is good for. You can't use any other language for that. You can't speak to your own people without it; you can't appeal to them without it. The literature of regeneration is still written in Welsh; it does not exist in English; it can't be written in English" (11/9/74 Field Notes).

In looking for an overall principle to interpret diverse phenomena, in seeing the whole of which a given phenomenon may be only a part, one has to go beyond persons to the objective or larger situation in which they are enmeshed. When one meets anti-Welsh Welshmen, especially those of an upper-middle socio-economic standing, one perhaps cannot but think of what Macaulay had said about India: We will create a class of people as intermediaries between us and the natives we govern--"a class of persons Indian in blood .... but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and intellect" (Worsley, 1973:52). In its Macaulayan functions, the Indian Civil Service has had a close equivalent in the Welsh (i.e., British) Civil Service, where--to use an Americanism--the Welsh Dream has been sold in English terms. (In America, the American Dream has been sold in WASP terms, mostly by White non-Anglo ethnics in the mass media, public schools, and other public agencies. See Schrag, 1972; Novak, 1972.) When one meets pro-Welsh Welshmen, especially those of middle socio-economic status, one cannot but think of rising elites in the Third World, of cultural nationalism in both the Third World proper and its equivalent regions in the First World. In terms of the sociological perspective discussed earlier, both the anti-Welsh Welsh and the pro-Welsh Welsh are two sides of the same "Internal Colonialism" coin.

## THE CURRENT CRISIS: STATISTICS ON THE DECLINE OF THE LANGUAGE

The current fever pro and counter the Welsh language has been sparked by official Census statistics pointing to the steady decline of the Welsh language as a spoken language especially from 1891 onwards. Table 1 presents these statistics.

Historical events that led to the decline of Welsh from 1536 to 1900 will be discussed later on. The decline in the twentieth century is attributable to the following factors:

1. The influx of English speakers especially from England and Ireland, 1900 onwards. Mine and factory owners were Englishmen or Anglicized Welshmen; hired hands were Welsh. Social mobility in industrialized areas, e.g., to a foreman's job or other administrative and quasi-administrative positions necessitated a good grasp of English. English has been the language of business and of promotion and mobility.

2. Wales has faced chronic unemployment, and rail and mine closures that have led to constant depopulation. The Great Depression of the 1930's resulted in a great exodus of Welsh-speaking persons. Because of the economic situation emigration from Wales has been a chronic phenomenon representing a brain drain and a brawn drain. Wales sends

## TABLE 1

## PERCENTAGES OF WELSH SPEAKERS: 1801-1971

| Census Year | No. of Welsh Speakers | Total Population of Wales | Percentage of Welsh Speakers |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1801) | 470,000 | 587,245 | 80.0% |
| (1841) | 700,000 | 1,046,073 | 67.0% |
| (1871) | 1,006,100 | 1,412,583 | 66.2% |
| 1891 | 910,289 | 1,669,705 | 54.4% |
| 1901 | 997,400 | | 49.9% |
| 1911 | | | 43.5% |
| 1921 | | | 37.1% |
| 1931 | | | 36.8% |
| 1941 | (No Census taken) | | ---- |
| 1951 | | | 28.9% |
| 1961 | | | 26.0% |
| 1971 | 542,000 | 2,725,000 | 20.9% |

Note: (a) The 1801, 1841, and 1871 figures are estimates taken from Raymond Edwards, 1974:59. So are the figures for 1891, which are not estimates.

(b) The 1901-1961 figures are taken from the 1963 H.M.S.O. report, Report on the Welsh Language Today, p. 132. The 1971 percentage is taken from the 1973 H.M.S.O. report, Census 1971: Report on the Welsh Language in Wales, p. 83. Unfortunately, no single source lists the number of Welsh speakers for each Census year.

(c) Obviously, there is currently a lot of controversy concerning over-estimation and under-estimation in Census figures. A useful discussion of this and related issues may be found in the following publications: (a) y Cymro (Welsh-language weekly newspaper--the title means "The Welshman"), issue of October 4, 1973; (b) Barn (Welsh-language monthly journal--the title means "Judgment" or "Critique"), issue of March, 1974; (c) 1974-75 Wales Year Book, pp. 158-161; and (d) Planet, English-language quarterly journal, No. 23, Summer, 1974).

hundreds of school teachers annually to England, many of whom are Welsh speakers whom Wales loses. (The profusion of teachers colleges in Wales is, according to some Welshmen, not by chance but by design so that England would annually get a steady and relatively less expensive supply!)

3. Service in the Armed Forces during World War II and thereafter has contributed to many of Wales's youth settling in England.

4. The English, according to Welshmen, have by design uprooted many Welsh-speaking communities, e.g., those living in Welsh valleys that were to be drowned so that English cities--such as Bristol, Liverpool, and Birmingham--would have Welsh water for their industrial and other needs. Among the valleys drowned are Tryweryn, Clywedog, Dulas, and Senni (R. Lewis, 1971:13). Other Welsh-speaking communities destroyed were those from which the British Army forcibly evicted farmers in order to use their land for its purposes, e.g., those of Mynydd Epynt in 1941 and Penyberth in the Llŷn peninsula in the 1930's (C. Rees, 1973:238).

5. The school system in Wales is seen by some Welsh-speaking Welshmen (of course the word is used in its generic sense as actually more Welsh women than men stressed this point during this study) as a deliberate tool of the English to destroy the Welsh language and alienate Welsh youth from their culture and heritage. It was only in the 1950's and

1960's that the Welsh school movement gathered momentum to counteract, in a small way, the rapid Anglicization of the school-age population. The English-medium state schools of Wales (what Americans would call "public schools") are seen by some of the Welsh as "murder machines," the label that Patrick Pearse had used for the English State Schools of Ireland (C. Thomas, 1966:77). Another Irish formulation rather well-known in Wales and relevant to these concerns is that of Daniel Corkery: "Languages do not die natural deaths--they are murdered, and their murderers are those who would destroy the soul of the nation" (C. Thomas, 1966:73).

Between 1961 and 1971, according to Census figures, the number of Welsh speakers dropped by 20 per cent. Could this steep drop be partly explained by the influx of English migrants to Wales and partly as an artifact of the way the questions pertaining to proficiency in Welsh are phrased on the Census form? How can a drop from 26.0% overall in 1961 to 20.9% in 1971 be explained?

One of the problems in interpreting Census statistics is that not the same, but different, questions about proficiency in Welsh have been asked by Census-takers from decade to decade. Hence, a solid basis for comparability is lacking. In addition, some of the questions are open to more than one interpretation: "Do you speak Welsh?" may lead some respondents to feel confident that their proficiency is adequate and say yes, but may lead others who may have a passable competence to say no. Since there is no scale of adequacy presented to the respondents with this question, the responses could go either way--the error, or bias, is two-directional but it is not known whether responses to one kind of interpretation would cancel out the others.

For the first time in the history of Census-taking, the question about the Welsh language did not only deal with the ability to speak it but also with the ability to read it and write it. The full question was (Census 1971, p. vi):

> "(a) Do you speak Welsh? Tick the appropriate box. ______ Yes ______ NO
>
> (b) If so, do you
> ______ Speak English?
> ______ Read Welsh?
> ______ Write Welsh?"

A note on the questions asked in earlier Censuses is instructive:

> "Earlier Censuses in Wales have included questions on speaking Welsh since 1891. Questions on reading and writing Welsh, however, were included in 1971 for the first time. In the censuses of 1961, 1951, and 1931 the questions on speaking Welsh were as follows:
>
> Language spoken
>
> (a) If able to speak Welsh only, write "Welsh"
> (b) If able to speak English and Welsh, write "Both"
> (c) For all children under age three and for persons unable to speak Welsh, insert a dash (-)
>
> In 1951 only, a rule was introduced in the checking of forms the effect of which was to regard a person who claimed to speak Welsh only but who personally completed and signed a schedule in English as able to speak both languages, and this reduced the number of persons

> counted as speaking Welsh only in that census. Before 1931, information was required about ability to speak English only, Welsh only, or both English and Welsh. This information was changed in 1931 because, strictly, it did not provide for people able to speak English or Welsh and another language other than English or Welsh" (Census 1971, p. vii, emphasis added).

The trouble with figures is that they are quite often believed as if they were sacred or immutable (part of the belief in the religion of science in modern times, especially in advanced industrial societies), their accuracy eventually acquiring an immutability even in the minds of those who question them. Essentially, statistics about the fate of the Welsh language in Wales is a highly political matter, important to the psychological as well as socio-economic well-being of a good deal of people. In Wales, Welshness or Englishness is a personal investment; Anglo-Welshness is a cross in between. Currently the controversy is phrased as the 20% vs. the 80% (those who speak Welsh vs. those who don't), or the fifth vs. the four-fifths.

Some Welshmen contend that there are at least 100,000 Welsh-speakers who live in other parts of Britain, especially England, who do not appear on the 1971 Census (T. R. Edwards, 1974:59). Be that as it may: it is not the precision of the 20.9% figure associated with the 1971 Census that is at issue but the trend it indicates--a decline. Whether or not this trend may be reversed is a different question.

Has there been any independent check on these Census figures to show to what extent they are accurate or not so accurate? According to an informant who is a Welsh-speaker but who is not well-disposed towards the Welsh language, the 1971 figures are exaggerated; much less people speak Welsh actually. The mere question the Census asked was: "Can you speak Welsh?"--not "Do you speak Welsh or on what occasion do you use Welsh?", that is, questions that would have made the results more accurate. (Actually, the question on the 1971 Census sheet was: Do you, not can you, speak Welsh?--which shows the vested interest of people in explaining or explaining away the 1971 results!)

According to the same informant, a few years ago some students at Cardiff, "probably in sociology," carried out an interesting survey. They asked a random sample of people the Census question, "Can you speak Welsh?" The students then asked those who said yes to say what Cartref (home) meant, what Cymru (Wales) meant, and similar words. About 90% knew what these words meant, but only 40% knew what Cened (nation) meant. The students asked more and more words like that. The upshot was that only a very small percentage of those who had initially said yes to the question, "Can you speak Welsh," knew any passable Welsh at all!

The same informant said that the 1961 Census statistics were exaggerated, that the evidence for that was a survey conducted by the Welsh Joint Education Committee (WJEC) within about two months of the 1961 Census. The Welsh Joint Education Committee asked school children aged 10 to 18 who could speak Welsh. The 1961 Census results for the same age group were something like 40%, whereas the WJEC results were something like 25%. (The same informant claims he had seen the results for Denbighshire and Flintshire at least; he is accurate in estimating the 1961 Census figures for school age children 10-18 as 40%.) "Even ardent Welshmen would admit to you that the 1971 Census results are inflated, that the decline of the language is much more serious" (5/14/74 Field Notes). Unfortunately, I have not been able to get hold either of the Cardiff student survey or of the WJEC one and thus report these results here in the interest of healthy skepticism and as a suggestion as to how the Census figures could be validated.

A look at Census results with regard to various age groups, 1911-1971 percentages, would give us a better picture. Table 2 deals with that.

Table 2 shows the following:

1. Most Welsh speakers, according to the 1971 Census, are bilinguals, they speak both English and Welsh (19.6%). Those who are monoglots, who speak Welsh but not English are very few (1.3%).
2. There is a steady decline in Welsh monoglotism and a rise in Welsh-English bilingualism especially, one would surmise, from 1945 onwards. (In 1941, no Census was taken. The percentages of Welsh monoglotism for all ages are 4.0 for 1931 but 1.7 for 1951.)
3. The highest percentages for Welsh monoglotism in 1971 are for those who are under 4 years of age (4.0%) or over 65 (2.0%), that is, found among those who have

## TABLE 2

## WELSH MONOGLOTS AND WELSH-ENGLISH BILINGUALS: 1911-1971 PERCENTAGES

Note: M: Monoglots; B: Bilinguals; T: Totals

| Age Group | | 1911 | 1921 | 1931 | 1951 | 1961 | 1971 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| All ages, 3+ | (M) | 8.5 | 6.3 | 4.0 | 1.7 | 1.0 | 1.3 |
| | (B) | 35.0 | 30.8 | 32.8 | 27.2 | 25.0 | 19.6 |
| | (T) | 43.5 | 37.1 | 36.8 | 28.9 | 26.0 | 20.9 |
| 3-4 | (M) | 13.0 | 11.2 | 9.6 | 6.0 | 4.7 | 4.0 |
| | (B) | 17.4 | 15.5 | 12.5 | 8.5 | 8.3 | 7.3 |
| | (T) | 30.4 | 26.7 | 22.1 | 14.5 | 13.0 | 11.3 |
| 5-9 | (M) | 9.7 | 7.8 | 6.1 | 4.2 | 2.1 | 1.3 |
| | (B) | 26.5 | 21.6 | 20.5 | 15.9 | 14.7 | 13.2 |
| | (T) | 36.2 | 29.4 | 26.6 | 20.1 | 16.8 | 14.5 |
| 10-14 | (M) | 6.0 | 4.7 | 2.9 | 1.6 | 0.6 | 0.8 |
| | (B) | 33.7 | 27.5 | 27.5 | 20.6 | 18.9 | 16.2 |
| | (T) | 39.7 | 32.2 | 30.4 | 22.2 | 19.5 | 17.0 |
| 15-24 | (M) | 4.6 | 3.6 | 2.0 | 0.9 | 0.5 | 0.7 |
| | (B) | 36.0 | 30.9 | 31.5 | 21.9 | 20.4 | 15.2 |
| | (T) | 40.6 | 34.5 | 33.5 | 22.8 | 20.9 | 15.9 |
| 25-44 | (M) | 6.2 | 4.2 | 2.1 | 0.8 | 0.5 | 0.8 |
| | (B) | 37.8 | 32.7 | 35.3 | 26.6 | 22.7 | 17.5 |
| | (T) | 44.0 | 36.9 | 37.4 | 27.4 | 23.2 | 18.3 |
| 45-64 | (M) | 12.6 | 8.3 | 4.6 | 1.2 | 1.0 | 1.3 |
| | (B) | 40.3 | 36.6 | 39.6 | 34.2 | 31.7 | 23.5 |
| | (T) | 52.9 | 44.9 | 44.2 | 35.4 | 32.7 | 24.8 |
| 65+ | (M) | 22.4 | 16.6 | 10.8 | 2.8 | 1.8 | 2.0 |
| | (B) | 37.8 | 35.3 | 39.1 | 37.9 | 35.4 | 28.9 |
| | (T) | 60.2 | 51.9 | 49.9 | 40.7 | 37.2 | 31.0 |

Source: H.M.S.O. Report, *Census 1971: Report on the Welsh Language in Wales*, p. 83, adapted from Table 6.

not been exposed to English yet, to the demands of schooling, or are old and retired. With schooling, the percentage of Welsh monoglots decreases considerably; the 1971 figures for age group 5-9 vs. 15-24 are 1.3% vs. 0.7%.

4. About the only encouraging result for pro-Welsh Welshmen provided by the 1971 Census is that whereas in 1961 only 13% of children under 5 spoke Welsh, in 1971 the same children--now in the 10-14 age group--were 17% Welsh-speaking. This may be due to increased enrollments in Welsh-medium schools (Ysgolion Cymraeg) and to programs that encourage the teaching of Welsh in English-medium schools.

There are two indices that both pro-Welsh and anti-Welsh Welshmen employ in discussing the "official figures," the Census statistics: (a) frequency, that is, distribution of Welsh-speakers throughout Wales, and (b) intensity, that is, the percentage of Welsh-speakers in each county. For example, Wales has a population of about 2-1/2 million (2,725,000 according to the 1971 Census), of whom about half (1,199,205) live in Glamorgan, the most Anglicized and industrialized area in Wales. Glamorgan has more Welsh speakers than the rest of Wales put together, though their percentage among the total county population is low (11.8% according to the 1971 Census). On the other hand, Anglesey has the highest percentage of Welsh speakers among all 13 of Wales's counties (65.7% according to the 1971 Census), but its total population is small (56,450 in 1971).

(Note: In 1974, the 13 counties of Wales were reorganized into 8. We continue to refer to the 13 counties because they are the basis for the 1971 Census; indeed, for all previous Censuses.)

Table 3 reports the percentage of Welsh speakers for each county, both for 1961 and 1971. Intensity and frequency could thus be discerned.

### TABLE 3

### PERCENTAGE OF WELSH SPEAKERS BY COUNTY: 1961 & 1971

| English Name of County | Welsh Name of County | % of Welsh Speakers in 1961 | % of Welsh Speakers in 1971 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Anglesey | 1. Môn | 75.5 | 65.7 |
| 2. Breconshire | 2. Brycheiniog | 28.1 | 22.9 |
| 3. Caernarvonshire | 3. Arfon | 79.9 | 73.1 |
| 4. Cardiganshire | 4. Aberteifi | 74.8 | 67.6 |
| 5. Carmarthenshire | 5. Caerfyrddin | 75.1 | 66.5 |
| 6. Denbighshire | 6. Dinbych | 34.8 | 28.1 |
| 7. Flintshire | 7. Fflint | 19.0 | 14.7 |
| 8. Glamorgan | 8. Morgannwg | 17.2 | 11.8 |
| 9. Merionethshire | 9. Meirion | 75.9 | 73.5 |
| 10. Monmouthshire | 10. Mynwy | 3.4 | 2.1 |
| 11. Montgomeryshire | 11. Trefaldwyn | 32.8 | 28.1 |
| 12. Pembrokeshire | 12. Penfro | 24.4 | 20.7 |
| 13. Radnorshire | 13. Maesyfed | 4.5 | 3.8 |

Sources: (a) 1973 H.M.S.O. Report, Census 1971: Report on the Welsh Language in Wales, p. 83, adapted from Table 5.

(b) Y Cymro (The Welshman, weekly newspaper), issue of Thursday, October 4, 1973.

Table 3 shows that between 1961 and 1971, all of the 13 counties of Wales suffered a decline in the percentage of their Welsh speakers, most of the decline being, on the whole, in the heavily Anglicized areas in the eastern and southern parts of

Wales, least in the western part. Only in one county was this percentage decline not associated with the actual number of people who spoke the language--Anglesey. There the percentage of Welsh speakers in relation to the total population of the county dropped from 75.5 in 1961 to 65.7 in 1971, but the number of Welsh speakers remained about the same (around 37,000). This is due in part to the following factors (C. James, 1974: 10-12):(a)"Second-home owners" ("holiday home owners") who are predominantly not Welsh-speakers retire into parts of Anglesey and are then enumerated there. (b) Military personnel, who are usually transient in Anglesey and other predominantly Welsh-speaking counties, can distort Census figures and add unwarrantably to the percentage of English speakers in the county. (c) In a county full of holiday resorts, guests and service proprietors add to the Anglicization process as well as the Census figures.

## LINGUISTIC "RESTORATION": EFFORTS TO PROMOTE THE WELSH LANGUAGE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF CULTURE AND IDENTITY, AS THE CORE OF WELSHNESS

What is being done to stem the tide of rapid Anglicization, of loss of the Welsh language as a viable instrument of communication in everyday life and a vehicle for transmitting the cultural heritage? The 1971 Census results symbolically lit a fire underneath pro-Welsh Welshmen and spurred them on into feverish activity on behalf of the language. Old efforts were intensified, new programs and committees were created. If we are to survey all that is currently being done on behalf of the Welsh language, we can say that all efforts are divisible roughly into four kinds: those that are educational and cultural; those that take the form of a youth movement; those that are centered on schooling, especially schooling with Welsh as the language of instruction; and those concerned with political activism, essentially militant yet non-violent. The group and individual efforts, the former centered on committee work and voluntary associations (some of which are listed in the 1974-75 Yearbook of Wales, 1974:159-162), can be summarized as follows:

1. The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion

Active especially from the late 19th century onwards. It arranges a series of 10 lectures a year in Welsh and English, which it later on publishes as proceedings in its Transactions series. The Society is based in London; its membership includes some of the successful Welsh lawyers and other professionals who have settled in England, are politically prominent, and who bring to bear a sort of Diaspora influence on the "old country" in matters cultural, especially of a linguistic or historical nature. The Society's secretary, G. Ben Jones, a London lawyer, is the first chairman of the newly-formed Welsh Language Council (see #3 below). The Society's Transactions are a major reference on various matters pertaining to Wales and the Welsh, including interesting articles on the Welsh in America (see for example E. Jones, 1954:15-41).

2. The National Eisteddfod

(In Welsh, "eisteddfod" means a sitting together, an assembly for literary purposes). This is an annual celebration of Welshness through colorful ceremonies and music and poetry contests, held during the first week of August, one year in North Wales, the following year in South Wales (in 1974 it was held in Carmarthen in South Wales). In anthropological terms, the National Eisteddfod is a rite of intensification, an assertion of Welshness and of the common bonds of Welsh Welshness. Practically half of Wales turn up for this festival, including delegations from the Welsh Diasporas (Cymry yr Wasgar); most participants agree that it is only there that their identity as Welshmen is annually renewed. There has been a lot of pressure from Anglo-Welshmen to have some of the Eisteddfod proceedings conducted in English, but so far this has been resisted.

### 3. Welsh Language Council

This was set up in October, 1973 by the Secretary of State for Wales and is composed of 12 appointed members, some of whom are not Welsh speakers but pro-Welsh. Among its Welsh-speaking members is Prof. Idris L. Foster, distinguished professor of Celtic at Jesus College, Oxford University, and chairman of the 1974 Eisteddfod, whose efforts in behalf of the Welsh language have been varied and far reaching. The Council is concerned with all that affects the welfare of the Welsh language; it is an advisory body for the Secretary of State for Wales (see #1, above).

### 4. The Welsh Academy (Yr Academi Gymraeg)

The Academy is a national organization concerned with literature. It has two sections: a Welsh-language section and an English-language one. In Wales, unlike in America, poets and writers are still critics of social life and spokesmen for the national conscience; people read a lot of poetry; for a small country, the per capita literary output especially in poetry is tremendous. (In America, a highly industrialized technologically advanced country, the critics, spokesmen, or national heroes are non-poets and non-writers; they include, for the most part, materially "successful" people.)

5. The Welsh Arts Council

This is a constituent committee of the Arts Council of Great Britain, which appoints its 17 members upon recommendation by the Secretary of State for Wales. The Welsh Arts Council is a patron of music, art, literature, and drama. It supports financially, for example, the Welsh-language periodical of the Welsh Academy, *Taliesin*, as well as the English-language journal, *Planet*.

6. The Guild of Graduates

Among the aims of the Guild of Graduates of the University of Wales is encouragement of the use of Welsh as a language of learning.

7. The Welsh League of Youth (Urdd Gobaith Cymru)

This is a non-political, non-sectarian movement aimed at serving the language and culture of Wales. It has 40,000 members and about 750 branches. The *Urdd* is regarded with respect throughout Wales; it has encouraged many young Welsh people to learn Welsh. It has a network of local *eisteddfodau* (see #2 above) and takes an active part in the annual national *Eisteddfod*.

8. School Eisteddfod (Junior Eisteddfod)

This is a miniature *Eisteddfod* (see #2, above) only for school children. It is held annually and has contests in music, poetry, singing, and drama between various Welsh-medium schools. It is considered a youth version of the National Eisteddfod and a good preparation for it. In 1974, it was held during the last week of May (May 29 to June 1) in Rhyl, North Wales. For the first time in this eisteddfod's history, the student who won the chair and crown, the two major awards, refused to be interviewed in English by the mass media, insisting that Welsh be used.

9. "Daughters of the Dawn" (Merched y Wawr)

This is a women's organization that split from the National Federation of Women's Institutes because it wanted to conduct its business in Welsh. It is a sort of Welsh-speaking, cultural, "League of Women Voters."

10. Welsh-Medium Schools (Ysgolion Cymraeg)

These are the basic instrument for revival and preservation of the Welsh language. They are one of the very few institutional or governmental contexts in which Welsh is used throughout the day. We will discuss these schools fully in a later chapter. At least three voluntary associations support the Welsh Schools movement:

(a) The Welsh Schools Parents Association (Undeb Rhieni Ysgolion Cymraeg);

(b) The Welsh Nursery Schools Movement (Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin); and

(c) The Welsh Nursery Play Group Movement.

Whereas nursery schools come under Education, nursery play groups are under social services. The Nursery Play Group Movement is a fairly new one, established in 1973 and currently housed at the Urdd headquarters in Cardiff. In 1974, it had about 200 nursery play groups established voluntarily throughout Wales for children 2-1/2 to 5 years of age to teach them Welsh. To help reinforce the Welsh learned in play groups, English-speaking parents are given a sheet of paper with a list of Do's and Don't's in Welsh--simple commands and exhortations to use with their children.

In addition, there are Welsh "streams" (what Americans call "ability groups") in English-medium schools in Wales and a Bilingual Education Project (Cynllun Addysg Ddwyieithog) to promote the teaching of Welsh in these schools.

11. National Association of Teachers of Wales (Undeb Cenedlaethol Athrawon Cymru)

This is the only teachers association which is based in Wales and whose central objective is the furtherance of the Welsh language. It works on development of curriculum materials in Welsh, especially in science. It is commonly known by the initials of its Welsh title, UCAC.

12. Language and History Projects

There are other efforts on behalf of the Welsh language, mainly aimed at serving the schools. Some of the relevant projects and programs are:

(a) Welsh Reading Books Scheme of the Welsh Joint-Education Commission.

(b) Welsh National Language Unit, Treforest, Pontypridd, Mid-Glamorgan.

(c) Bilingual Education Projects, Gartholwg Church Village, Pontypridd, Mid-Glamorgan.

(d) Welsh Language Research Unit of the University of Wales, Cardiff.

(e) English and Welsh History Project, Glamorgan College of Education, Barry, Glamorgan.

(f) Welsh Dialects Research Project, Welsh Folk Museum, St. Fagan's, Cardiff.

(g) University of Wales Press History Sourcebooks series in Welsh, entitled "Cyfres Llygad y Ffynnon" (literally, the "eye of the spring" sourcebooks).

(h) Individual efforts for producing scientific and technical vocabulary in Welsh, e.g. those of Prof. Jac L. Williams, University College, Aberystwyth, who compiled Y Geiriadur Termau (Dictionary of Terms, 1973), of Dr. Ceinwen H. Thomas, University College, Cardiff in developing varied vocabulary lists; and Mr. Huw Roberts, of Morgan Llwyd School, Wrexham, who is developing a Welsh textbook and vocabulary for teaching physics in secondary schools.

### 13. Modified "Ulpans"

This, together with establishment of the Welsh Language Council (#3), constitutes the most recent and most direct effort to combat the challenge posed by the 1971 Census statistics. Modified "Ulpans" are directed at teaching Welsh to adults; it is a practice adopted from the experience of Israelis in teaching Hebrew to new immigrants. Whereas in the usual Israeli "Ulpan" adults spend two to three months in a concentrated fashion devoting all-day-long efforts to learning the new language, in the modified Welsh "Ulpan" adults stay at their jobs but devote 5 evenings a week for about three months. Usually a list of Welsh-speakers is compiled--school teachers, bookshop managers, university-connected people, and others in the community--all non-paid volunteers who sign up to take turns at covering the same evening class for the requisite period of time. In their tradition of self-help in education, the Welsh have been ahead of others in this regard, having historically been the ones who formed "Circulating Schools" and the original "Sunday Schools" to teach the Bible to both adults and children.

In seeking to benefit from the instructional techniques and experience of the Israelis in this regard, the Welsh have gotten the help of consultants from the Israeli Ministry of Education and Culture. The word "Ulpan" is becoming increasingly used in Wales--pronounced "Ull-pahn," "Ull-penn," "Jewish U-plan" ("you-plan") by some, and given an English "s"-ending plural. One hears "I am teaching an Ulpan tonight," said with a sense of pride and dedication.

For the first time in the history of University College, Cardiff, Welsh--as of 1974--is being taught in the Department of Further Education (Extension-type teaching). Of course, French, German, Portuguese, and other languages had for a long time been offered regularly in Further Education at Cardiff, but not Welsh! The person in charge of planning varied-level Welsh courses in Further Education is Myrddin Evans, who is well-acquainted with similar American practices in higher education.

University College, Aberystwyth, has an intensive summer program during the month of July for teaching Welsh to adults. Part of Pantycelyn Hall, a large dormitory, is set aside for that purpose--the Hall where the Prince of Wales had stayed to learn Welsh and from which pro-native-language students wanted their College administration to exclude English monoglots and reserve solely for the occupancy of Welsh-speaking students during the regular school year. Dan James, a well-known author of books on Welsh as a second language, is in charge of the intensive summer program.

### 14. The National Party of Wales (Plaid Cymru)

In its election platforms and publications, Plaid Cymru has always considered defense of the Welsh language as defense of Welshness and of Welsh-speaking communities. It has asserted that the Welsh language is the core of nationhood and has advocated a bilingual policy for Wales with Welsh and English having equal validity, i.e., not only English having the only validity. (See earlier discussion of Plaid Cymru.)

### 15. The Welsh Language Society (Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg)

This is the most famous organization fighting on behalf of the Welsh language. It was formed in 1962 and is largely composed of university students and other youth. It has waged campaigns and conducted demonstrations on behalf of bilingual road signs, bilingual court summonses, bilingual electricity and telephone bills, bilingual government registration forms and license applications, and so forth. The Cymdeithas has tended to be militant but non-violent; nevertheless, because of its activities on behalf of increased usage of Welsh in all contacts of citizens and government, it has tended to polarize public opinion. We will discuss it more at length when we discuss the courts later on. Suffice it to say that during 1972 alone, for example, "17 people, mostly young, have been or remain in Wales for non-violent direct-action concerned with linguistic and community rights, and 329 people have been in court on similar charges" (N. Thomas, 1973:7). In 1973 and 1974, there were many more.

## 16. A Few Instances of Violent Action

Defense of the language in Wales is bound up with defense of the land and village community against Anglicization and industrial encroachment. Welsh nationalism, as basically linguistic and cultural nationalism, has been relatively free of violence. In 1965, three youth tried to blow up the Tryweryn dam-site works in protest against the ousting of farmers and villagers from the Tryweryn valley and against the flooding of the valley for the purpose of supplying water to Liverpool. The youth called themselves the Free Wales Army (in some sort of imitation of the Irish Republican Army). Other youth from time to time have called themselves the Free Wales Army and talked about violence, but "their physical activities are confined to the paint-pot" (Ellis, 1968:9, 12-13). One of the most famous incidents of isolated violence is that of John Jenkins who got a ten-year sentence in 1969 for blowing up pipelines near a dam site--"his was the only response of its kind to a situation which many /Welshmen/ feel"(N.Thomas, 1973c:7). Jenkins has become something of a literary celebrity; his letters from prison to those who have kept up a correspondence with him reveal a "stern, though sensitive, literate man with painfully thought-out philosophies" (Hodges, 1973:32). These letters, some excerpts of which are published in Planet (Nos. 5-6 and 20, the Summer 1971 and the Autumn 1973 issues) are especially interesting in what they reveal about attitudes towards the Welsh language, religious-type veneration for Wales, and issues of Welsh identity, e.g., autonomous Wales vs. autonomous Cymru-Cymraeg (Welsh-Wales), Cymro (Welshman) vs. Cymro-Cymraeg (the Welsh Welshman, not the Anglo-Welshman), and so forth.

Welshmen naturally tend to be Europe-oriented; some speak several languages; many are knowledgeable about linguistic groups and autonomist movements. Several maintain contacts with various linguistic groups on the Continent, e.g., the Frisians in Holland or even the rather obscure Sorbish language speakers, the Domowina group of the town of Bautzen near the border of East Germany and Czechoslovakia! (For other known and not so well-known minority languages, banned or allowed to flourish, see G. Price, 1969 and 1973.) There is an active interest in the language and social conditions of the Bretons in France (Celtic cousins); a quarterly publication, Carn, to mention but one example, published in English and in the Celtic languages, carries news about them as well as the other Celtic groups ("Alba," Scotland; "Eire," Ireland; "Mannin," Isle of Man; "Cymru," Wales; "Kernow," Cornwall; and "Breizh," Brittany).

Pro-Welsh, Welsh-speaking Welshmen consider Welsh as the embodiment and manifestation of national identity (C. Rees, 1973:236); without institutional support--schools, churches, courts, broadcasting corporations, other governmental agencies--they are afraid Welsh may become like Latin, an academic rather than a living language. They decry the fact that currently "....the framework of institutions through which other modern languages perpetuate themselves is virtually non-existent here" (C. Rees, 1973:246, emphasis added). E. Glyn Lewis, in comparing the relation of English to Welsh in Britain, Russian to minority languages in the U.S.S.R., clarifies this issue further:

> In Britain and the Soviet Union there is no unwillingness on the part of the central elite to recognise different ethnic and linguistic interests. In fact a great deal is made in both countries of the toleration of these interests. But, equally, in neither country is there a matching readiness to facilitate the formation of institutional supports for these interests, whether in the press, broadcasting or education. On the other hand institutional support is the great strength of the intrusive languages....In both countries the system of education has been the main intrusive language support....Unless the interests are institutionalized and the institutions become autonomous, it is virtually impossible to move from

> amorphous or unstructured ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity to pluralism....In both countries the present system of education is "*paliative*," aiming less to ensure the maintenance of the ethnic language than to minimize the disaffection brought about by its decline (1974:16-17, emphasis in the original for first two underlined words; added for the rest).

The most brilliant case, not only of reviving a dead language but also of creating for it solid political and institutional supports, has been that of modern Hebrew--an orienting case to some Welshmen, and as some informants have ironically pointed out, it was the British Government, now ever so reluctant vis-à-vis Wales, that supplied the requisite political framework for that purpose. One of the responses of a rising middle-class among Tsarist Russians and Poles of the Jewish faith in the late nineteenth century, a middle-class that had no vital role in the rather rapid but late industrialization taking place in a here-to-fore feudal, backward, and agriculturally-based Russian Empire, was a Utopian sort of ethnic nationalism, an establishment of a Zion in a corner of another decaying empire, the Ottoman Empire. Pogroms and a long history of persecution by European Christians made Utopianism a reality for the early Zionists. Although by 1918 the Jewish population of Palestine was only 50,000 in a country full of Gentiles (700,000), and although only a minuscule portion of the non-Gentile settler population was using the newly revived language, Hebrew, for more than prayer, the British Mandatory Government in Palestine, which then administered the newly-acquired Ottoman territories, made

Hebrew one of the three official languages for Palestine (the other two being Arabic, the language of the natives, and English, the language of the conqueror). All government forms were trilingual. As such, then, Hebrew became a language in use--for administration, government, education, and politics. Not only was the newly revived language, Hebrew, safeguarded this way, but to ensure development of all necessary institutions for a future state based on immigrants brought over in response to the Zionist movement and for eventual dispossession of the natives, three well-known English Zionists were simultaneously appointed to the three top administrative jobs of the British Mandatory Government in Palestine: Herbert Samuel, as first High Commissioner (i.e., Governor) for Palestine; Norman Bentwich, as Attorney General; and Albert Hyamson, as Director of Immigration (see Leon, 1970:244-256; Kochan, 1972:17, 100; Gainer, 1972:116-119; and Abrahams, 1969: 208-209, plate opposite 209). London, as the Welsh are inclined to say, is so altruistic towards its former colonies, but not towards Wales.

In Wales, the Welsh language is not "official" and thus has no economic power. What the pro-Welsh Welsh are aspiring to establish is an institutional framework to safeguard their native language, a way of seeing it in daily use in schools, courts of law, post offices and other governmental agencies, and more often on TV and radio. The issue of language, as an issue of identity, is also bound up with the issue of land--as it is flooded, depopulated, Anglicized, or sold cheaply to non-Welsh-speaking holiday seekers--and the erosion of the sense of community.

In this account we have attempted to put Welsh-English relations in a Celtic context as well as a world context, that is, treat them as a reflection of a Third World that exists within the First. We have implied that the emergence of a suppressed Wales is both economic and psychological, and hinted at the close connection between language, cultural self-esteem, and the quest for economic solvency--the three-pronged fight usually characteristic of independence movements. But in seeking to place this account within a theoretical framework anchored in sociology and anthropology, one finds that there are a number of socio-cultural themes, not one, that shed light on the issues involved: the "colonial model" within the sociology of race and ethnic relations; "revitalization movements" within anthropology; the sociology, anthropology, and social psychology of language--not to mention political sociology or anthropology, political science, or cultural history! We can summarize all these intermeshing themes by saying that what we are essentially dealing with is the sociology of cultural resurgence--and of necessity, the sociology of cultural destruction, or the socio-history thereof--and that perhaps the most meaningful framework to adopt in this instance is a sociology of conquest framework. The Welsh have been a conquered people, unlike the Scots, a fact which shapes their relations with England quite differently and shapes the average Englishmen's thinking about them and their own thinking about themselves. In essence, current Wales is post-colonial Wales.

In the remaining sections of this chapter, we will deal with the intertwining of land, language, and community in the

Welshman's quest for Welshness and, briefly, focus again on the issue of language as an issue that telescopes the whole bi-ethnic controversy, a controversy that not only involves Englishmen and Welshmen but Welsh-speaking Welshmen vs. English-speaking Welshmen as well.

## LAND, LANGUAGE, AND COMMUNITY ("GWLAD," "IAITH," AND "CYMDOGAETH")

We shall start with "language" as the most important term of the "land, language, and community" trinity of issues, briefly taking it up this time--since we have already discussed various facets of it--just as an index of cultural destruction and cultural resurgence.

### A. Language

An emphasis on language is usually an emphasis on something else--on dignity, identity, and economic power. Socio-economic fights can be carried out under a linguistic guise; language as "culture" lends the necessary symbolism.

If an ethnic group can be meaningfully defined as essentially one that shares a historic memory, then a good deal of the Welsh historic memory can be said to revolve not only around their deliberate impoverishment by the English but the suppression of their language as well.

A language is a nation's memory; it is a "delicate network of historically accumulated associations" (N. Thomas, 1973b:30). Perhaps a sense of the fever, concern, and obsession that currently grips many Welsh-speaking Welshmen about their language and its importance for their cultural resurgence is embedded in what Bobi Jones--born an English-speaker, but who acquired Welsh later on in life to become a well-known poet, novelist, and critic in Welsh--has written:

> When imperialist England submerged Wales, the first and last blow at destruction was at the language. Conquer that, and conquer all. A Welshman might henceforth feel a superficial equality in other spheres, but regarding his own country he was permanently condemned. Even inferiority in the economy would now be accepted because the language had inferior status. This was the norm for centuries, the mentality of slant towards London. The language was to be the economy, was politics, was industry, was science: when the language rolled over, they all rolled over (Bobi Jones, "Why I Write in Welsh," 1970, Planet, 2:21, emphasis added).

The Welsh-speaking intelligentsia of Wales, it is apparent, want restoration of their native language, not merely its preservation. They seek to bring to light, through the language struggle, the hidden oppression of the relation of Wales to England. Their quest, among other things, is to set free a victimized or suppressed identity, a colonized self (N. Thomas, 1973b:326, *passim*).

### B. Land

The bastions of Welshness in the heart of Wales, many Welshmen feel, are being eroded. It is not only that seashore resort communities in Wales are being bought up by English concerns to provide "holiday homes" and "retirement homes" for Englishmen, but Englishmen are buying up Welsh farms and moving in with their children to Anglicize hitherto all-Welsh communities. Some Welshmen complain that the native Welsh population can no longer afford to buy farms or homes in Wales itself because of the English competition (a complaint similarly heard in New England in northern New Hampshire and Maine against out-of-state land developers and speculators). Loss of land means that the newcomers assimilate the natives, rather than vice-versa, and that "ghost-towns" are being created for the non-summer months in places that used to be all-year-around communities. A solid cultural base vanishes. It can thus be quite accurately said that whereas Scotland is full of Scotsmen, Wales is not full of Welshmen, and that the undefined physical territoriality of Welshness is at the heart of the Welsh problem.

We have already discussed the inundation of Welsh valleys to provide water for English towns and the resultant dispersion of old communities, of Welsh-speaking families. The British Army has also been blamed by Welshmen for arbitrarily expropriating land in Wales when equally suitable land was available in England itself. With each case of expropriation, a stronghold of Welsh language and culture is destroyed.

Loss of Welsh-speaking communities through purchase, commercial pressure, expropriation, and inundation has been aptly referred to by Welsh writers as the problem of "erosion of the core," and "theft of the environment" (D. L. Price, 1971:16; G. Evans, 1973:passim).

## C. Community

Welsh life has traditionally been village life, a life marked by intense association, mutual aid, unity, and warm-heartedness as various observers have remarked (Frankenberg, 1969:45-65, 86-112; A. D. Rees, 1971:32-46; Parry-Jones, 1972: 43-68; Harrison, 1974:22; Woolfe, 1974:87-90). Traditionally, there has been an emphasis on Brogarwch (love of locality), Cymdogaeth (good-neighborliness), and Cydymunedaeth (a word perhaps best rendered into English through a cumbersome borrowing from the traditional language of sociology: Gemeinschaftliness). Indeed, the Welsh have always had in their language a Ferdinand Toennies type of dichotomy to differentiate between the small, intimate, and the large, remote type of human association: "Cymdogaeth" for Gemeinschaft, "Cymdeithas" for Gesellschaft. What they have been decrying in their current cultural assertion is loss of the former especially since the Second World War and advance of the latter. In this, they are part of a current world-wide feeling against bigness and its corollaries of impersonal, elusive, or tentacular administration; in short, against the trivializing and dehumanizing pressures of modern industrial society, the degradation and manipulation of people for commercial profit, and predation on their dignity through impersonal structures. As the Welsh slowly lose their land and language, they witness erosion of traditional social bonds, the kinship system, mutual aid, activities that bring them together, and friendship networks. For them, a sense of community is not a quest but something they have experienced; it is at its best in Welsh-speaking groupings. For them, their language--as an old language, a poetic language, a folk language--is more capable than "analytic" and "impersonal" English for expressing various shades of human emotions. (A number of Welsh-speaking informants have stressed this difference between Welsh and English to the author, something they deeply believe. Observers of American life will note with amusement that whereas American English is a most precise instrument for business and science, it is quite "underdeveloped" when it comes to subtle characterization of personality types and behavior and has to rely on borrowings from a folk language, Yiddish.)

The village community of Wales is being engulfed in modernization. The trend is worldwide: "The whole of Europe is being turned into a suburb of Washington in spite of French and German" (North, 1973:109). Modernization means industrialization, urbanization, and--most of all, bureaucratization. As E. Glyn Lewis has observed,

> Modernization tends to generate and foster the idea that society consists of aggregates rather than communities, units governed by the operation of abstract principles remotely rather than locally determined, and sanctioned institutionally rather than communally. Such changes....have tended to sharpen rather than diminish the awareness of traditional values (1974:7, emphasis added).

Wales still has a consciousness of being different; it is a place where homogeneity and depersonalization of modern life is still resisted; it is a place that Welshmen go back to; it is a place where one knows people. For many Welshmen, assertion of their language is assertion of their social bonds, of their sense of community; it is an assertion against uniformity and loss of authenticity.

The Welsh, administered from London, seeing their land-base and resources eroded, their traditional way of life threatened, their identity submerged, seek a measure of autonomy and control over their own destiny. Most seek _interdependence_ with England rather than _independence_ from it; they want to correct the evils of an industrial society. In this sense, their quest is egalitarian as well as utopian, showing an intimate link between land, language, and community.

## THE KEY: EMERGENCE OF A NEW MIDDLE CLASS IN WALES

We have maintained that Welsh nationalism can be regarded as a case of Third World nationalism within the First World and that this nationalism has focused on the native languages as a short-hand for a number of closely-connected socio-economic grievances: loss of resources, identity, victimization, suppression. We have tried to establish that Welsh history can best be understood as colonial history, much like that of India, Afrikaans South Africa, and other _partibus infidelium_ that the British Colonial Office (renamed a Commonwealth office) used to deal with. Most Welshmen would agree with this designation but not most Englishmen, for the average Englishman cannot, after centuries of conditioning, understand why the Welsh don't want to become English or speak English only. The Welsh say that they have two strikes against them: being administered by the most experienced colonial power in world history (England) and living in the shadow of a world language (English).

Perhaps what is missing in this context is to account for Welsh resurgence more accurately. It is the assumption of this writer that this resurgence is spearheaded by a new middle-class in Wales, a middle-class mostly appearing after 1945. The current leaders of Welsh opinion are overwhelmingly sons and daughters of coal miners, agricultural workers, steel workers, shop keepers, and minor civil servants, but especially of coal miners. These leaders are mostly school masters, clergymen, and university lecturers, occupational categories highly prized in a country like Wales with its traditional emphasis on education. They come, for the most part, from rural areas both north and south but not typically from Cardiff or Swansea, although they may live there now. They are all Welsh-speaking and, in a small country such as Wales, know each other very well. Their Welshness sets them apart, for to have spoken Welsh at home, a generation ago, meant that the person by definition was working-class. They are very proud of their Welshness, of their ability to speak Welsh, of their ability to "live a full Welsh life." They consider their knowledge of Welsh a badge of achievement, for it differentiates them from other middle-classmen as well as working-classmen who are English monoglots.

This new class, this Welsh-speaking middle-class, only a generation removed from working-class, has retained a tradition of non-conformity, political awareness, and, in its British sense, radicalism. It knows quite well, in the former British Prime Minister's words, Edward Heath's, the "unpleasant face of capitalism," for capitalism in Wales was English, not Welsh. Many have inherited some of the antipathies towards capitalist society that are associated with the seat of power in London. Hence, their feeling of Welshness is perhaps a revolt against a system of power which lingers on from the past. They have a sense of loyalty to a Welsh past, a working-class past, for as one informant put it, "It is a betrayal for a coal-miner's son to vote Conservative" (5/30/74 Field Notes). It is an awareness of exploitation by a foreign power and resistance to alienation from their own cultural heritage.

Members of the new class have a sense of community retained from the days of their childhood. "In my childhood," said an informant, "Welsh life was village life, as it mostly is now. You thought in terms of the village, and usually these villages grew around a coal mine....Cooperation was essential in village life. In the coal-mine, when you worked underground, you had to work with a fellow miner, a partner, and learned to do things in a spirit of interdependence....But there has been a big difference since 1945: things people used to do together are no longer done together....The focal point used to be the workmen's hall and the chapel. Now the focal point is the pub. But for non-drinkers, there is not much of a social life left. This explains the erosion of the language, because social contacts kept the language alive--now people live only within their own families. They watch television, they stay mostly at home....Television is a threat to community" (5/30/74 Field Notes, No. 485-B).

Sons and daughters of the new Welsh-speaking middle-class are more self-assured, many informants remarked. Welsh-medium schools impart self-confidence to the new generation. The importance of the Welsh language to the new class in Wales was admirably put by the aforementioned informant: "The language is an essential part of our self-confidence. Without the language, the non-Welsh-speaking person in his heart of hearts faces a dilemma: he is a Welshman without having much Welshness. At one time, the community could carry him, but when the community is breaking down, he has to carry his Welshness in himself, and the language is what gives him that" (5/30/74 Field Notes, No. 485-B, emphasis added).

The subjective element in ethnic identity in a modernizing society (such as Wales) is well expressed by Gellner:

> If a man is not firmly set in a social niche, he is obliged to carry his identity with him, in his whole style of conduct and expression: in other words, his 'culture' becomes his identity (Gellner, 1969:157, quoted in Hechter, 1971:39-40).

As Hechter comments, "In an age of bureaucratic organization and mass literacy, cultural distinctions, particularly those of language, assume great importance...."(1971:40). For the new Welsh-speaking middle-class, Welsh is identity.

How do we account for the rise of the new Welsh middle-class, the Welsh-speaking intelligentsia, an academic intelligentsia university-based? Its rise is part of a world-wide phenomenon, a post-1945 phenomenon of affluence characteristic especially of the First World. It is the rise of technical elites demanded by an economically integrated world.

The world may be said to be going through a second industrial revolution. Whereas the first industrial revolution mechanized muscle-power and produced physical dehumanization, the second industrial revolution is mechanizing brain-power and resulting in the impersonal treatment of people as mere physical objects (P. Evans, 1973:71,74). Knowledge has replaced labor as the critical factor of production, alienation has replaced exploitation as the major social ill (Touraine, 1969). The mechanization of brain-power is associated with a revolt against the mediocrity of industrial life, with a quest for community. A synonym for the so-called second industrial revolution is the "post-industrial society," which is a society in which the systematic organization of research and of scientific knowledge is becoming the essential productive force (Garaudy, 1970:49). The post-industrial society, according to Daniel Bell (1973:487), has three components: "In the economic sector, it is a shift from manufacturing to services; in technology, it is the centrality of the new science-based industries; in sociological terms, it is the rise of new technical elites and the advent of a new principle of stratification....The post-industrial society means....a changeover from a goods-producing society to an information or knowledge society...."--in other words, to more personnel in the management, sale, and service of technology. Mallet (1969) calls the new university-produced class a "new working class", because it lacks traditional middle-class power.

The first industrial revolution inverted the traditional ratio of agricultural to industrial workers; the second industrial revolution, the cybernetic revolution, is inverting the ratio of manual to intellectual workers, making organized intelligence the chief productive force (Schelsky, 1961:33; Garaudy, 1970:22, 61). Between 1955 and 1965, the college student population especially in Europe and America doubled in some countries, in others tripled (cf. Banks, 1972:20). More people have been employed in teaching and research and in sales and services rather than manufacturing; more M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s produced. The traditional university orientation moved from "class" to "mass"; the university became a "knowledge factory." (By the late 1950's, for example, American sociology had become a big industry, developing a "value-free" stance and an "end-of-ideology" ideology. Cf. Kleinborg, 1973:1-23). The new university-trained class has at times rebelled against the consumer society and its oppressive uniformity and administrative centrality but, for the most part, has gone along with it. Wales is a reflection of this world-wide trend.

## CHAPTER V

## THE LANGUAGE VS. INTERLOCKING INSTITUTIONS

Institutions, it can be said, are interlocked for two reasons: (a) because they are run for the benefit of a dominant group or groups, and (b) because they perform complementary functions. Exclusion of a subordinate group or language from a given institution usually means its exclusion from all others; its admittance to an institution usually indicates its gradual, qualified, or conditional admittance to all others. The history of Blacks and of pre-1924 non-Anglo Whites in America provides interesting (some would say shocking) examples in this regard; the history of the Welsh in Wales the same. It is the purpose of this chapter to explore the gradual and limited use of Welsh in the following institutions: courts of law, the University, television, and the post office and similar governmental agencies, reserving discussion of the schools for a later chapter. By institutions in this context, we simply mean service institutions or official establishments of a governmental nature.

The Welsh, of course, can participate in all institutions within Wales but at a price (from the point of view of pro-Welsh Welshmen), that of identity. They cannot use their traditional language, Welsh, as freely or fully as they might like. Language as a badge of national identity is acknowledged even by non-Welsh speaking Welshmen:

> I would regard with some suspicion a man who said he was a Frenchman but spoke no French or a Russian whose only language was German. Yet, historically, there are sound reasons why large

> numbers of Welshmen speak only English (Lord Chalfont, 1973:xi).
>
> It is only via the language that the Welshman can compel a Westminster government to regard his problems as any more than regional ones (P. Davies, 1973:148).

English is the language that Welshmen have to use to be part of the governmental structure in Wales, not to mention outside Wales and within Britain. English is the language of economics and of advancement; it opens up avenues of social mobility throughout Britain. For some pro-Welsh Welshmen, "....it is impossible to serve Wales whilst at the same time battening on the bribes of Britishness" (G. Miles, 1973:19). That means, as many Welsh-speaking Welshmen put it, "living a full life in Welsh" in Wales and lobbying on behalf of the language. Although many a non-Welsh-speaking Welshman may feel he can be a full-fledged Welshman without speaking the language, the presence of Welsh-speaking Welshmen in Wales and the agitation on behalf of the language reminds him that this is not so, that there is a certain illogic in being a Welshman who does not speak Welsh. For some non-Welsh speaking Welshmen, the question of identity or Welshness is not as important as being able to have a good position in government or commerce based on knowledge of English; that is to say, for them heritage or cultural identity is not an issue, not the main issue at any rate. Whereas pro-Welsh Welshmen, as a rising class, are in search of a role in the context of Wales itself, pro-English Welshmen tend to be happy with the role they have--with being Welsh in a British context rather than being Welsh in a Welsh context.

Official institutions in Wales are British, that is to say, English. Pro-Welsh Welshmen feel as if they were strangers in their own country, since they are not accepted as Welsh-speakers fully or naturally when they come in contact with those who govern them or administer their own affairs. The language of civil servants (regardless of whether they are civil or serving) is English. Pro-Welsh Welsh-speakers feel they speak an *endangered language* which, like an endangered species, ought to be fostered and safeguarded. (Welshmen with a historic memory would add as *fostered* and *safeguarded*, say, as the swans of Abbotsbury in Dorchester or the ducks of Holy Island in English Northumberland--cf. Saunders Lewis's Caernarvon Court speech of October 13, 1936, reproduced in A. R. Jones and G. Thomas, eds., 1973, especially pages 121-122.) They like to extend the use of Welsh routinely to all areas of public life in Wales.

When it comes to the language, the new rising class in Wales, the Welsh-speaking intelligentsia, is chiefly represented by the *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* (the Welsh Language Society), an offshoot of *Plaid Cymru* (the Welsh National Party). The *Cymdeithas* was formed in August, 1962, especially in response to exhortations and warnings of the sage of Wales, a bard-like personage, Saunders Lewis, in his epoch-making BBC radio speech of February 13, 1962, *Tyngyd yr Iaith* (the "Fate of the Language"--see Jones and Thomas, 1973:127-141, for the full text). The *Cymdeithas* is mainly composed of young people, university students and others, who would like to bring Welsh into full usage and acquire for it legal and official status in the following areas (see mimeographed sheet in English and Welsh, entitled "Outline of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Policies: Summary of 'Conditions for Revival' from the Cymdeithas Manifesto," no date, but probably 1973):

1. Law courts.
2. Local and central government administration.
    (a) The Post Office.
    (b) The telephone service.
    (c) Road signs.
    (d) Minutes of local authority meetings.
3. Voluntary associations.
4. Commerce, business, and advertising.
5. Education.
6. Television and radio.

We now turn our attention especially to three of the above: Law courts, television, and the post office, adding another (the University), and taking up the issue of Welsh-medium schooling in a subsequent chapter.

THE COURTS

As a result of the 1536 Act of Union by which Henry VIII incorporated Wales into England, Welsh ceased to be the language of administration; English and English institutions became the basis for governing Wales. All government records were kept in English; English was the language Welshmen had to use when they came in contact with officialdom. Although the British, when they had a worldwide Empire prior to 1945, allowed some of the colonial natives to use their native languages for governmental record keeping, for pleading in court, or for general communication with the "authorities," no such concession was granted Welshmen until about the middle of this century.

Until the Welsh Courts Act of 1942, Welshmen were actively discouraged, at times even prevented, from using Welsh in court especially if the magistrate had suspected they knew English. Whereas foreign nationals such as Chinese, Russians, or Frenchmen "could claim as of right to use their language in the courts with the aid of an interpreter paid by the State, a Welshman could use Welsh in Wales by favour of the judge only and had to pay his interpreter himself" (C. Thomas, 1966:94). In other words, the 1942 Welsh Courts Act merely gave a Welshman the right to plead in Welsh only if in the opinion of the judge the Welshman's English was not good enough and then, and only then, was the Welsh defendant exempt from paying the court interpreter (C. Thomas, 1966:95; G. Evans, 1973:61).

The 1967 Welsh Language Act gave Welsh "equal validity" with English. This means that a Welshman can now plead in Welsh in court, get an official form in Welsh, and write to a government department in Welsh and, more often than not, receive a reply in Welsh. "Equal validity," for all practical purposes, means that the government machinery still grinds in English: Official forms may be available in Welsh but the person must specifically ask for them; by instruction of the government department issuing the forms, the forms are not kept on display, thus enabling the Government later on to proclaim with glee that there is hardly a demand for such forms (N. Thomas, 1973b:85-86)!

In the words of the 1967 Welsh Language Act,

> In any legal proceedings in Wales and Monmouthshire, the Welsh language may be spoken by any party, witness, or other person who desires to use it.

However, according to a November, 1971 statement issued by the Lord Chancellor's office, "the 1967 Act did not grant any Welshman the right to require the entire proceedings of the court to be conducted in Welsh"(UCAC, "The Welsh Language in Court Proceedings in Wales: A Memorandum Submitted to Lord Justice Edmund Davies, September 1972,"p. 1, emphasis added). A legal clarification of the 1967 Act is the following:

> When an accused person does not understand English, a translator must be sworn to translate the evidence to him, even if he is represented. However, a lay litigant has no legal right to open his case through an interpreter. Nor has he the right to have all the evidence orally translated as it is given. However, in each case, the court in the exercise of its inherent jurisdiction to control its own work has power to allow such courses to be taken (UCAC, 1972:1-2, emphasis added).

This means that in a case cited by UCAC (1972:2), where all the parties including counsel and magistrates were Welsh-speakers and prepared to conduct the entire proceedings in Welsh, the Clerk, a non-Welsh-speaker, could refuse translation of Welsh proceedings into English and require the proceedings to be only in English. "Equal validity for what?" ask pro-Welsh Welshmen about the 1967 Act.

The English, as some Welshmen say, seem to excell at writing documents and declarations that seem to appeal equally well to all parties in a dispute! This sort of deliberate amgibuity is discernible in the 1967 Welsh Language Act. (For a full text of this Act, see, for example, Appendix Two in R. Lewis, 1969:122-125.)

In a speech at the summer conference of the Magistrates Association at University College, Bangor, North Wales, on July 29, 1972, Lord Hailsham, the then Lord Chancellor in the Conservative Government, clarified some of the ambiguity of the 1967 Act:

> But English and Welsh are in a privileged position; English throughout the country, and Welsh in the Principality....They are of equal validity, that is, a person is entitled to speak either tongue in Court at his own option, but no-one has a right to impose his own language of choice on anyone else who is entitled to participate in the proceedings....Accordingly, if some of those entitled to participate choose to use Welsh and some choose to use English, there must be reciprocal interpretation (Lord Hailsham, the Lord Chancellor, 1972:6).

In practice, however, a Welsh-speaking judge would at times reply in English to a defendant who addresses him in Welsh or if pressed to use Welsh would say, "I have an interpreter." In some cases, hearings had to be adjourned because the court had not hired an interpreter. As yet, no courts have been designated to be held in Welsh, others in English, thus obviating the need for translation (A. D. Rees, 1969:18-19).

For Welsh-speaking judges to deal with Welsh witnesses and defendants through interpreters is considered by pro-Welsh

Welshmen to be both farcical and degrading. Perhaps there is an element of personal tragedy for the judges concerned, for some of them owe their initial appointment indirectly to their knowledge of Welsh, to having been chosen because those in authority had wanted Welsh-speakers to be represented among those appointed. The political context is well explained by Professor John Griffith of the Faculty of Law at London University in a 1972 article in the New Statesman, though the article did not specifically deal with Wales:

> Judges are in the centre of politics, being responsible for law and order which are necessary to society, and yet, if abused, "law and order" become the strongest (because official) forces of oppression....The judges have great power and so must be closely regarded. We need to examine the part they play in the political process....We need to know much more about the way judges are appointed....We need to know much more about the influence of the Lord Chancellor and Lord Chief Justice. We need to know how judges are selected to hear particular cases. We need to know more about any pressures brought on judges or, if that is too crude a formulation, we need to know the context within which they come to their decisions when political questions are involved (quoted in A.D. Rees, 1972:31).

Pro-Welsh Welshmen feel that as long as Welsh-speaking persons cannot be tried in their own language in their own country then they are nothing but "mock Englishmen," that such Welshmen have no inherent rights as Welshmen but that their only rights are merely the rights of Englishmen. They cite the fact that whereas French speakers and Italian speakers constitute, respectively, only 18.9% and 9.5% of the Swiss population, yet enjoy equality in the administration of justice, Welsh-speakers in Wales who constitute more than 20% of the population do not enjoy such equality, having no right to live every aspect of their lives through the medium of their native tongue (I. B. Rees, 1972:21-22, 25; G. ap Islwyn, 1972:12; A. D. Rees, 1972:27; A. D. Rees, 1969:15).

Would a pro-Welsh Welsh-speaking judge who is as proud of his Welsh as some of his colleagues are of their English ever be asked to adjudicate in Welsh language cases? Would he be advised to conduct the proceedings in English? Who would put pressure on him to do that? These questions have not been, nor perhaps can ever be, fully answered, but a famous case, that of Mrs. Margaret Davies, a Justice of the Peace on the Swansea Bench may serve in part to clarify related questions.

The "Welsh Language Offender" has become a well-known category of offense in Wales, involving lobbying for bilingual signs, bilingual government forms, bilingual summonses, and so forth. In January, 1970, Mrs. Margaret Davies, J.P., wrote the then Lord Chancellor, Lord Gardiner, expressing her disquiet at the conflict of choice between "carrying out the law" and "doing justice" in cases and sentences involving Welsh language offenders. Lord Gardiner advised her that the proper course of action for her out of this dilemma would be to resign from the Commission of the Peace, which she refused. She subsequently paid a fine imposed upon one of the Welsh-language defendants, thereby gaining publicity but incurring the wrath of some of her fellow magistrates. She considered the law as applying to the Welsh language offenders as wrong and on some occasions the Chairman of the Bench tried to disqualify her from sitting on these cases.

What is interesting about this case is the spirited correspondence carried on between Mrs. Margaret Davies and the office of Lord Chancellor, Lord Hailsham, of St. Marylebone, concerning justice and the law (a correspondence published in Planet, No. 12, pp. 46-58, June-July, 1972 under the title, "The Magistrate's Dilemma"). Examples are:

1. (a) "I would publicly dissociate myself from penalties imposed by my fellow-magistrates on non-violent patriots who broke laws which were unjust to the Welsh language" (M. Davies, Memo of March 23, 1972 to Lord Hailsham, Planet, 12:51).

   (b) "What matters is not the sanctity of the law but the sanity with which it is administered" (M. Davies, Memo of 3/23/1972, Planet, 12:53).

   (c) "These /i.e., members of the Welsh Language Society7 are not drop-outs; rather are they passionately opting in to preserve and promote what is good, honourable, and decent in Welsh tradition. That is why the majority of the people of Wales recognise the justice of their claims and why so many of us feel involved when they are made to suffer. They are resolutely non-violent in an age of growing violence" (M. Davies, 3/23/1972 Memo, Planet, 12:53, emphasis in the original).

(d) "When the law of the land is shot through with laws and usages which deny to Welsh-speakers the rights and privileges which it safeguards for English-speakers, it violates 'co-rightness' /The Welsh word for justice, _cyfiawnder_, literally means 'co-rightness'7" (M. Davies, letter of April 30, 1972 to Lord Hailsham, _Planet_, 12:56).

2. (a) "I would ask you to accept that, as Lord Chancellors, neither Lord Gardiner nor I have been concerned with _the merits of the Welsh language issue_ which has been in the forefront of all your own letters....What your duty as a magistrate equally involves is the _administration of the law as it is_ and not the law as we (or any of us) think it ought to be" (Lord Hailsham's letter to Mrs. Davies, April 14, 1972, _Planet_, 12:54, emphasis added).

(b) "....Whatever may be thought of the moral conduct of the offenders concerned, you and those of your colleagues on the Bench who choose to think as you do are in breach of your duty of impartiality and of your judicial oath which....involves the obligation _to administer justice impartially_, according to law and not in defiance of the law" (Lord Hailsham's letter to Mrs. Davies, 4/14/1972, _Planet_, 12:54, emphasis added).

Perhaps Lord Hailsham had Mrs. Davies on his mind when he spoke to the Magistrates Association at University College, Bangor on July 29, 1972--a speech to which we have already referred--because that speech is full of exhortations to Welsh magistrates to "stick to principle," "follow the principles firmly and clearly embodied in the judicial oath," and "uphold the law" (Lord Hailsham, 1972:4).

What offended many Welsh-speaking Welshmen about Lord Hailsham was not so much his constant insistence upon impersonal administration of the law regardless of the merits of the language protest in Wales but his speech at Llandrindod in 1972 in which he lumped pro-Welsh Welshmen who cause "courtroom disturbances" with the "baboons of the I.R.A. who blow the arms and legs off little children and break the bones....of pregnant women" (Planet, 12:14, 57). Members of the Welsh Language Society, the Cymdeithas, being very consciously non-violent, resented Lord Hailsham's unfortunate and unrealistic analogy, especially the epithet "baboons," and so did other pro-Welsh Welsh persons, including Mrs. Margaret Davies who called that speech of Lord Hailsham an "intemperate outburst....wildly injudicious" (M. Davies, letter of 4/30/1972 to Lord Hailsham Planet, 12:57-58).

On May 5, 1972 the "magistrate's dilemma" of Mrs. Davies came to an end, the Lord Chancellor accepting her resignation.

A number of courts--e.g., at Neath, Bangor, Ffestiniog, Dolgellau, Bala, Llandysul, and Llanilar--have found the Welsh-language defendants technically guilty but have granted them an unconditional discharge. Some of the chairmen of these Benches have criticized government departments for not issuing bilingual forms,ultimately forcing them to do so (A.D. Rees, 1969: 23-24).

Judges, of course, do not administer the law impartially all the time; they are responsive social creatures, swayed by the political currents of the times. As R.W.M. Dias of Cambridge University points out in his paper, "The Value of a Value Study of Law," published in the *Modern Law Review* (July, 1965):

> The idea that judges represent, as it were, the blindfolded figure of justice, brooding impersonally over a machine is an illusion.... The truth appears to be that *the legal machine works pretty much as the judges make it work*, and in order to do so in a socially acceptable way, they have to keep their eyes open and their fingers on the very thread of the social pulse" (quoted in A.D. Rees, 1969:25, emphasis added).

It should be pointed out that one of the outstanding problems in administering justice in Welsh to Welsh-speakers is the absence of qualified interpreters in law courts. Quite often a university student, a member of the *Cymdeithas*, a person fully literate in Welsh, who is brought to trial because of his agitation for bilingual street signs or a similar cause, faces an interpreter who speaks Welsh passably, e.g., a policeman, but who cannot express in it abstract ideas. The gulf between literacy and illiteracy, middle and working class in relation to Welsh, then becomes apparent and works to the detriment of pro-Welsh Welsh-speakers. Even if an interpreter knows Welsh quite well, he may not be conversant with legal terminology or procedure. Currently, there are very few qualified interpreters to give a realistic "equal validity" to Welsh in law courts as had been hoped for on the basis of the 1967 Welsh Language Act.

## THE POST OFFICE AND OTHER GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

The Hughes-Parry Report (1965) established the "Principle of Equal Validity" for the Welsh language, a principle incorporated into the 1967 Welsh Language Act. The 1967 Act is essentially applicable to two areas: (a) the courts, which we have already discussed, and (b) Government departments.

Whereas implementation of "equal validity" within the courts is, as we have seen, fraught with problems, such implementation in Government departments is even more problematic. For the 1967 Act leaves the heads of departments free to permit the use of Welsh as they deem fit, to issue or not to issue bilingual forms or bilingual documents at their own pleasure. This means that the Post Office, for example, may distribute application forms for car licenses but may not accept these forms if they are completed in Welsh (A.D. Rees, 1969:20)! Another Government department may issue a bilingual birth certificate but no bilingual marriage certificate or death certificate. After a long hassle, the Registrar General may issue an unsatisfactory bilingual form for birth registration that would induce parents to register their children in English only, but even if the parents wanted to register their child in Welsh, they were told the child had to be registered in English first, then in Welsh--some "equal validity!" as A. D. Rees (1969:24) has remarked.

Some pro-Welsh Welshmen have refused to pay their taxes unless they received bilingual forms; others refused to register the birth of their children or take out a TV or radio license (in Britain they do that) for the same reason.

This has caused not only considerable inconvenience for the people involved but also financial loss, as fines were levied against them and, upon refusal, their furniture was confiscated and sold to pay for the fines. In other words, bilingual forms and documents in Wales have been the result of non-violent defiance of the law, the "fruits of unpaid fines and imprisonment" (A. D. Rees, 1969:21).

Quite often, no publicity is given to the Welsh version of an English form; it has to be deliberately asked for by the pro-Welsh person. At times, the Welsh of bilingual forms is woefully unsatisfactory, made much more difficult than the English version even when it could be written in a most simplified form. As some Welshmen would say,"'equal validity' anyone?" The English, it seems, are ever so reluctant to give the Welsh more than a token institutional framework for promoting their language.

WELSH ON TELEVISION AND RADIO

There are three television channels in Britain and, as applicable to Wales, are BBC 1,BBC 2, and HTV (for Harlech Television, the regional private channel). There is talk of a fourth TV channel and controversy in Wales as whether to make the fourth channel fully Welsh in language, thus taking Welsh programs off the other channels, or whether to make it bilingual.

Those in favor of a bilingual channel argue that they are against segregation and for exposing Welshmen to Welsh on all channels, not merely on one. They argue that if the fourth

TV channel was to be the "Welsh channel," then anti-Welsh English-speakers would automatically avoid it. The prominent spokesman for this point of view is Professor Jac L. Williams of University College, Aberystwyth.

A Welsh-language channel would remove Welsh from the other channels. Anti-Welsh English-speaking Welsh M.P.'s, such as Leo Abse and George Thomas, are in favor of a separate Welsh-language channel. In this they agree with some pro-Welsh Welshmen but for different reasons!

Those who desire to have a separate channel for the Welsh language argue that in a bilingual situation on television, Welsh would be usually the subordinate language, the language that does not have enough peak (i.e., prime) time. They emphasize that managing a TV channel on their own would give Welsh-speaking Welshmen an independence and a confidence unknown in a mixed English-Welsh programming situation. They would have a home base, an autonomous context, a definite existence, and would be in a better position to develop Welsh-language programs for children to compete with the current English-language near-monopoly in this area. Instead of being in the minority, Welsh-language programs would then enjoy top priority.

The spokesmen for an all-Welsh TV channel are members of the Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (the Welsh Language Society) and Professor Alwyn D. Rees of University College, Aberystwyth. Members of the Cymdeithas realize that, in Saunders Lewis's words, television may be "the chief killer of the Welsh language" (quoted in A. D. Rees, 1973:181). They realize that increasingly children and youth spend more time watching television and getting rapidly Anglicized, for there are far more programs in English than in Welsh. As a pro-Welsh Welsh-speaker has said, "When I, as a Welsh speaker, look at the television screen, it shows me nothing of myself or of my people. It shows me the ways and manners and life and language of another people not at all consonant with my own. In fact, to Welsh speakers the BBC is a Big Brother figure, omnipresent, omnipotent, even omniscient...." (E. Llewelyn, 1970:9).

By 1972, the BBC and ITV were broadcasting to Wales, on radio and television, in English and Welsh, a total of 94-1/2 hours of programs per day as follows:

TABLE 4

1972 DAILY RADIO & TELEVISION BROADCASTS TO WALES

| | Welsh | | English | | Totals | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Media | Hrs. | Mins. | Hrs. | Mins. | Hrs. | Mins. |
| Radio | 02 | 09 | 63 | 24 | 65 | 33 |
| Television | 01 | 48 | 27 | 16 | 29 | 04 |
| (Totals) | (03) | (57) | (90) | (40) | (94) | (37) |

Source: A. D. Rees, "The Welsh Language in Broadcasting," 1973:180.

It appears from Table 4 that Welsh is engulfed by English. On radio, English is about 32 times more than Welsh; on television, it is about 14 times. (These figures include various radio and television stations.)

Table 5 summarizes Welsh-language broadcasting from 1959-60 to 1971-72.

### TABLE 5

### SUMMARY OF TWELVE YEARS OF WELSH LANGUAGE BROADCASTING ON RADIO & TV

| | Hours per Week | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Media | 1959-60 | 1966-67 | 1971-72 |
| Radio 4, Wales | 9.6 | 12.4 | 15.1 |
| BBC Wales TV | 3.3 | 6.1 | 7.2 |
| TWW/HTV Wales | 3.5 | 5.5 | 5.5 |
| (Totals) | (16.4) | (24.0) | (27.8) |

Source: A. D. Rees, "The Welsh Language in Broadcasting," 1973:180.

Over a twelve-year period, the average increase in Welsh-language broadcasting has been 5.8% annually; in English-language broadcasting, 6.3% annually. Proportionately, the Welsh language was less overwhelmed by English in 1959-60 than in 1971-72. In the last five years of the 12-year period under discussion, the rate of increase in Welsh broadcasting was only half of what it was in the previous seven (A. D. Rees, 1973: 180-181).

"Enough Welsh is broadcast to ensure that an intolerant minority who expect to find English on all channels all the time remain infuriated....A few hours of Welsh programmes are quite powerless in the middle of the English flood" (A. D. Rees, 1973: 182). With regard to Welsh on radio, it is limited to about 15 hours a week out of a total of about 450 hours. The Overseas

Service of the BBC broadcasts two or three times as much in such languages as German, French, Arabic, Spanish, or Russian than it does in Welsh to Wales; Portuguese, Polish, or Hungarian take precedence over Welsh (A. D. Rees, 1973:187).

The BBC Charter and the Television Act expire in 1976. Perhaps the present arrangements will continue for a few more years before a final decision is made. Perhaps the fourth channel would be given to commercial television throughout the United Kingdom than assigned in Wales exclusively to Welsh (A. D. Rees, 1973:187, 190).

The debate about the fourth TV channel goes on. Even if the Welsh succeed in designating that channel as a Welsh-language channel, there still would be three English-language channels matched against it. This, according to some Welshmen, ought to pacify anti-Welsh Welshmen. For pro-Welsh Welshmen, a separate TV channel with a separate broadcasting corporation for Wales may help them revive their language and give their efforts a distinct character.

It should be remembered that like the school system, television and radio are powerful ideology-making instruments that supply, in the interest of governing elites, the very terms by which a good many citizens think about the reality of ethnic dominance and socio-economic relations. For the social reality of both America and Britain is anchored not only in social classes but potently in ethnic group divisions (ask an Englishman, Scotsman, or Welshman, for example, whether he has a distinct identity as such or is merely "British"). Television and radio are instruments of mass persuasion, part of what Cruse

(1967:457) has termed the "cultural apparatus," an apparatus in America owned and controlled by Anglo and near-Anglo Whites and in Britain by the English and the Anglicized. The same is true, mutatis mutandis, of other countries.

## WELSH IN HIGHER EDUCATION

In the 1950's, as several informants have asserted, the Welsh had a chance to establish a Welsh-medium college where all, or mostly all, subjects would be taught in Welsh. However, some of their spokesmen at the time argued against such a college, thinking it would lead to self-segregation or that it would not have too many students. But times have changed and many pro-Welsh Welshmen regret not having established such a college or designated one of the already existing University colleges as a Welsh-medium one. Currently, many Welsh-speakers--themselves lecturers, writers, or teachers--are petitioning for such a college. Among the reasons are that graduates of secondary Welsh-medium schools are forced to continue their education most often in English and their Welsh is then lost as a vehicle for intellectual effort. Also, now that Welsh-speakers have Welsh nursery schools, Welsh primary schools, and Welsh secondary (or comprehensive) schools, it is only logical--they say--to have a Welsh-medium college.

There are currently some courses taught in Welsh at the university level, e.g., a few theology and sociology courses at Bangor, and some education courses at Aberystwyth and Cardiff (in the fall of 1973, divinity students at Bangor rioted because their new instructor wanted to teach them their Biblical Hebrew through the medium of English rather than Welsh). Also, some courses at Trinity College, Carmarthen, and Bangor Teachers College are taught in Welsh. Also, a student may petition (and often succeed) to write his or her Ph.D. dissertation in biology in Welsh and defend the dissertation in Welsh, but this is rather the exception than the rule. There is no full program in higher education that is completely taught in Welsh as yet.

Several informants have asserted that Welsh students, both English monoglots or Welsh speakers, do not constitute more than 30% of the campus enrollment at any of the five constituent colleges of the University of Wales (University College, Cardiff; Institute of Science and Technology, Cardiff; University College, Swansea; University College, Aberystwyth; and University College, Bangor). Faculty members of Welsh background, either English-speaking or Welsh-speaking Welshmen, are even less than 30% of the total teaching force at the 5 campuses. In other words, the majority of students and faculty members at the University of Wales are non-Welshmen and, as such, tend to be opposed to any change in the status of the Welsh language. English faculty members are afraid they may lose their jobs if they are ever required to learn Welsh as a condition for tenure or promotion. English students resent Welshification of the University.

In the eyes of many Welshmen, especially pro-Welsh Welsh-speakers, the University of Wales is, to all intents and purposes, an English institution. For one thing, like English Universities, it is funded directly from London.

Welsh-speaking students have tried to assert their identity by requesting to have some residence halls designated exclusively for Welsh-speakers, e.g., Pantycelyn Hall at Aberystwyth. They have also opposed any expansion of the University, arguing that such an expansion would be in the interest of English, not Welsh, students and that thus they would merely get the surplus of English students who cannot be accommodated in England. The argument, of course, cuts both ways, for who knows whether some English universities might not retaliate by limiting Welsh entrants!

Welsh-speakers argue that the University of Wales was founded in the late 19th century on the basis of contributions from Welshmen in all walks of life, especially poor ordinary folks. As such, they say, it should be a Welsh university not merely in name, a university fully serving Wales. They point out that, as Saunders Lewis has said, the language and literature of Wales should be the very raison d'être of the University. Members of the new intelligentsia in Wales, the Welsh-speaking intelligentsia, whether part of the Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (the Welsh Language Society) or Plaid Cymru (the Welsh National Party), whether students or lecturers at the University, are in favor of making the University of Wales a truly national university, that is, a university serving Wales "as a nation." This means not only having bilingual signs throughout the University with Welsh on top, rather than on the bottom as the case is at Cardiff at present--something symbolically important--but also establishing a new Welsh-medium college to be part of the University to serve the renaissance of Welsh and the new cultural resurgence, or designating one of the present University Colleges, e.g., Aberystwyth, to be the Welsh-medium college. A national movement, they assert, needs a national university where the native language is cherished and encouraged.

## THE KILBRANDON REPORT

One way to explain away an issue more than to explain it is to set up a commission to study it and come up with recommendations. The recommendations are usually a balance between odds, an ad hoc compromise. The Kilbrandon Report took four and a half years to produce (1969-1973) and cost 484,000 pounds sterling ($1,210,000). It recommended mini-parliaments for Wales and Scotland to "cut complaints about centralization" (South Wales Echo, October 31, 1973), but left basically untouched the central issue of nationalism in both Wales and Scotland.

The basic provisions of the Kilbrandon Report, entitled "Report of the Royal Commission on the Constitution, 1969-1973," and which appeared in October, 1973, were:

1. No surrender of the sovereignty of the UK Parliament and no Federal constitution.
2. Scotland and Wales would have separate regional assemblies (mini-parliaments) elected for four years, which would be responsible only for local matters, such as "environment, health, education, and personal services." Foreign affairs, defense, taxation, trade, and industry would be handled by the Westminster Parliament.

3. The Welsh and Scottish assemblies would raise only a small part of their revenue--"only car licence, petrol duty, and betting and gaming taxes." (For comprehensive summaries of the Kilbrandon Report, see the London Times of November 1, 1973; the Financial London Times of November 1, 1973; and the London Sunday Times of March 10, 1974.)

The theme of the Report was devolution of power from Westminster, seeing "the aspirations of the Celts being satisfied while preserving a United Kingdom "(London Sunday Times, March 10, 1974). A Welshman living in England reacted to the ethnic issues implicit in the Report this way (Daily Telegraph, November 6, 1973):

> Sir--Your leader on the Kilbrandon Report (Nov. 1) typifies the average Englishman's lack of comprehension of the deep race yearning of the Celtic nations for ethnic survival against the present hopelessly overwhelming odds. Ethnic identity seems only to be important for the polyglot English. Characteristic of this attitude, when they came to this island a few years ago they immediately called the inhabitants Welsh, an Anglo-Saxon word meaning foreigner.
>
> Actually, from a political point of view, I would have thought the report should have received your wholehearted support. If it was implemented, England could rid herself of the pesky Leftist Celts, without whose votes the Labour party could be kept out of office indefinitely, and the predominantly Conservative English could paint England's green and pleasant

land a permanent true Tory Blue.

IORWERTH MORGAN

Kinver, Staffs.

An Englishman's reaction was to dismiss the whole thing (*Daily Telegraph*, November 6, 1973):

> Sir--Would somebody please give the Kilbrandon Report an instant burial? One government is quite bad enough.

DEREK CROSS

Maybole, Ayrshire

In a speech at Aberystwyth, George Thomas, an anti-Welsh-language Welshman and a prominent member of the Labour Party reacted to the Kilbrandon Report this way (*Western Mail*, December 1, 1973):

> It is absolutely vital that no one in Wales shall be in doubt on Labour's stance in this crunch issue.
>
> We are not talking of a legislative Parliament for Wales, we are concerned not with separatism but with taking a giant-stride forward in the democratisation of Government services.

An anti-Welsh-language, Welsh-speaking, Welshman reacted to the Kilbrandon Report in the following manner:

> The Kilbrandon Report merely advocated an *executive*, not a *legislative*, assembly for Wales, and with no control over money. *Money still has to come from London*. Therefore, an assembly for Wales won't have a financial clout.
>
> Wales pays taxes directly to the Central Government (same as Scotland), but gets back

> much more. Wales, for example, spends 108 million pounds a year on health services, a sum it could never raise by itself. As Enoch Powell has said: "Go ahead and be independent, but don't expect hand-outs from your rich neighbour."...
>
> The Welsh M.P.'s in Westminster won't give up their power to a Welsh assembly. Parliament in London is where the money is, where the power is....Local county authorities won't give up their power either....Perhaps there will be an _executive_ assembly for Wales with limited executive powers....They could conveniently absorb the Welsh Joint Education Committee and be responsible for some such thing as education, but nothing more....The crucial issue is money--the purse-strings would continue to be in London....Even if Wales had a legislative assembly, it could pass all the laws it wants but still won't have the money to carry them out! Wales by itself is too poor to raise the money it needs for government expenditures (3/14/74 Field Notes, emphasis added).

Pro-Welsh Welshmen disagree with the aforementioned view. They think that a legislative assembly would legislate for Wales "as a nation" (i.e., not a region) and safeguard the interests of both Welsh-speakers and English-speakers in Wales, fostering the Welsh language as a matter of cultural priority. They disagree with the view that Wales could not raise enough money for government services, saying that Wales has enough natural resources in tin, and coal, and iron to more than pay for government expenditures if Wales could only have the autonomy to control its own affairs. But above all, autonomy for them means revival of the language and setting up the machinery necessary for its protection.

In the following account, we turn our attention to the Welsh-medium school, and to the teaching of Welsh in English-medium schools, as an illustration of the most successful efforts so far on the part of Welshmen to revive the Welsh language. The Welsh-medium school, a bilingual school, has been the only institution in Wales where pro-Welsh Welshmen have succeeded in making Welsh an "official" language.

# CHAPTER VI

# THE SCHOOL AS AN AGENCY OF REGENERATION

## THE WHOLE OF WHICH THE SCHOOL IS ONLY A PART

As Welshmen would say, Wales is a nation submerged into England, its language submerged into English. To the average person outside Britain--some would say even within Britain, Wales is merely a corner of England having no separate identity of its own. This is even the belief of some Welshmen themselves, who opt to "get on" through English and pay a certain price in "getting on," losing humanly more than they are gaining materially, turning against themselves and fellow Welshmen, what the pro-Welsh Welshmen tend to call the "cultural scabs," the Crachach (cf. N. Thomas, 1973b:84). Each group has its betrayers, from mild, to moderate, to Meshummeds (willing converts to the religion of the enemy), to even Kapos (deputized executioners, eventually victims themselves).

Some pro-Welsh Welshmen complain that whereas they are forbidden from seeing their own language on street signs in their own country, it is perfectly acceptable for the English to have bilingual, even trilingual, street signs in French and German in the town of Lewes in southern England erected for the benefit of tourists coming from the Continent (5/15/74 Field Notes). What is of course sociologically important about this belief is not whether it is objectively true or false but that it is held by some people, for myths have a reality of their own--they sustain a public mood and nourish solidarity through a sense of grievance.

As we have mentioned in a previous chapter, in Wales poets are spokesmen for the nation's conscience; they capture in enviable brevity a multi-faceted emotion, a national sentiment. In a poem entitled "Wales to The Netherlands," the the submergence of Wales and Welsh identity is expressively portrayed:

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An informant knowledgeable about the history of the British Empire has asserted that, on the whole, Welshmen who rose in the British Civil Service or in politics to become secretaries of state or be part of the hierarchy of the British Colonial Office tended to be particularly enlightened towards Britain's overseas colonies (2/28/74 Field Notes). Perhaps a vague memory of Wales as a sort of colony may have influenced their outlook in this regard. Unfortunately, there was no chance to check the basis for the informant's assertion, trace the bibliographic reference and ascertain whether such datum about Welsh secretaries of state was true or not. (One would also expect to find evidence in the opposite direction, for the colonized when employed to help the colonizer may turn out at times to be more zealously colonizing than he.) Be that as it may, for another informant has asserted that Welshmen in the Labour Party, such Labour MP's as George Thomas, Goronwy Roberts, and Cledwyn Hughes are in favor of a parliament for Wales, an executive assembly (5/30/74 Field Notes), which brings us to the point of this discussion, namely that Goronwy Roberts as currently under-secretary of state, foreign, and commonwealth affairs is not only, as a Welshman, in favor of more autonomy or devolution for Wales but also for Hong Kong, the last remaining overseas colony of Britain! The following New York Times item, carried also in a local evening paper (Foster's Daily Democrat, Dover, New Hampshire, February 13, 1975) sheds light on colonial-type situations, internal and external, and establishes a not-unfamiliar similarity between the governance of Wales and Hong Kong (many pro-Welsh Welshmen have asserted that the Welsh are "subjugated people" and that Wales historically was actually "the first colony of England"). It would be instructive to substitute "Wales" wherever "Hong Kong" occurs and make other corollary changes--e.g., substitute the name of the "Western Mail," the "South Wales Echo," or other newspapers--to find out to what extent there is actually the least hint of a similarity. We quote in full.

## HONG KONG PONDERS ITS POLITICAL FUTURE

By Frank Ching

> Hong Kong (NYT)--Hong Kong, a bastion of 19th-century laissez faire capitalism and one of the last remnants of the British Empire, is gradually beginning to feel the stirrings of 20th-century political ideas.
>
> English-language newspapers here have been printing letters and articles for and against popular elections, the extension of voting rights, and the holding of a referendum on what the people of Hong Kong really want--unification with China, independence, internal self-government, or no change at all.
>
> The debate began earlier this month with the visit of Lord Goronwy-Roberts, the British undersecretary of state and foreign and commonwealth affairs with special responsibility for Hong Kong.
>
> Lord Goronwy-Roberts said at a news conference that "the advance to elective self-government, as far as we can see looking at you from London, is a good thing." He stressed that the desire for change must come first from Hong Kong, which became a British colony in 1842, and that Britain would not impose any changes on the colony.

The South China Morning Post responded in an editorial saying that the people of Hong Kong did not want change. The Hong Kong Standard welcomed the possibility of elections, asserting that there was "a deep chasm between the rulers and the ruled" in Hong Kong.

A committee has been formed to explore the possibility of greater democratization in Hong Kong, and letters have poured into the papers supporting the concept of an elected legislature.

The colony of 4.2 million people now has a government headed by a governor appointed by London to represent the British crown. The governor, Sir Murray Maclehose, presides over both the executive council and the legislature council. Neither body has any elected members.

The government permits election to half the seats on the urban council, whose powers are limited to parks, libraries, licensing of hawkers and such areas.

Less than 10 per cent of the people are eligible to vote--there are 23 categories of voters. Of these eligible, fewer than 40,000 go through the rather complicated registration process, and fewer than 10,000 actually vote. One-fourth of 1 per cent of the people in Hong Kong are thus actually voting in urban council elections.

Lord Goronwy-Roberts' remarks opened debate on a subject that had long been considered out of bounds. They apparently caught the colonial authorities off guard. The government rushed out a statement saying that "the extension of any elected form of government must be appointed with caution in view of the constitution of Hong Kong and our geographical and political position, which, as the minister suggested, is very sensitive indeed."

> A high British official, who declined to be identified, said that he would not rule out the possibility that legislative council members could be elected. "The Labour Party would like to see greater democracy," he said, "but China won't have it."
>
> China's position on Hong Kong, as stated in the United Nations on March 8, 1972, is that Hong Kong is Chinese territory "occupied by the British" and is not to be treated as a colonial territory moving towards independence. Because of this, many people are reluctant to adopt any course that might provoke Peking.
>
> Businessmen have also voiced concern over the possibility that elections and concomitant social and political change might scare off foreign investors. There is fear that communists or nationalists might dominate the elections.
>
> So far, the dialogue has been limited primarily to the western-educated segment of the population. Until such time as the Chinese population in general begins clamoring for action, it is unlikely that the colonial authorities will institute significant reforms.

This account about Hong Kong serves to highlight in a detailed fashion the dynamics of external colonialism and is indicative of the similarities as well as dissimilarities between external and internal colonialism. The article points to the emergence of counter-elites and the initial stirrings of an autonomist movement; *mutatis mutandis*, it can be used as a paradigm to describe a range of situations in various countries.

If Wales has been a "subjugated nation," as Welshmen assert, then its language and schools have also been subjugated and can be said to be only recently recovering from such subjugation. An index of this subjugation around the turn of the century concerns three items related to Welsh identity: the Welsh language itself, the chapels, and the Eisteddfod.

(a) At the University of Wales, "....for a long time, the Welsh language was not used as a medium of instruction even in the Department of Welsh" (C. Thomas, 1966:89).

(b) Nonconformist chapels, "pillars of the Welsh language though they were," continued to use English well into the last decade of the 19th century in inscriptions above their doors to announce themselves, e.g., "Bethlehem Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Chapel, Built 1860," but with the later Welsh addition of "Ail-adeiladwyd 1895," i.e. "Rebuilt 1895" (C. Thomas, 1966:93).

(c) "Most present-day visitors to the Eisteddfod are probably unaware and would be surprised to learn that right on into the later years of the nineteenth century its proceedings were conducted, its presidential address spoken, its judges' awards composed in English" (Coupland, 1954:209).

Consciousness of suppression on the part of the Welsh has been a precondition for this resurgence: we cannot reasonably understand the current Welsh-school movement without delving into central elements in the Welsh historic memory concerning suppression of their language by law (the law of England) and by practice (Welsh practice). Hence prior to dealing with the Welsh-medium schools, we will begin with a history of attempts at deculturating the Welsh, especially as these attempts later on impinged on the schools. We will amplify and list together what we had dealt with only briefly in the preceding chapters and in other contexts, choosing this time the context of schooling and schools.

## QUOTH THE SAXON TO THE CYMRO: "THOU SHALL NOT SPEAK WELSH IN WALES"

Attempts at deculturating the Welsh by banning the official and institutional use of their language, and their pre-20th century efforts to revive their language, can be depicted as follows:

1. In 1282, Wales was conquered by the Anglo-Normans, becoming the first dominion of the English Crown. In 1536, Henry VIII, who himself was of Welsh extraction, incorporated Wales into England, bringing it under English law and making its only official language English. The 1536 Act of Union, which some Welshmen call the "Act of Annexation," further stipulated the following (reproduced here in modern spelling):

> ...From henceforth no person or persons that use the Welsh speech or language shall have or enjoy any manner of office or fee within the realm of England, Wales or other of the King's dominions upon pain of forfeiting the same offices or fees unless he or they use and exercise the speech and language of English. (Quoted in 1963 H.M.S.O. report, The Welsh Language Today, p. 11).

Welsh ceased to be the language of administration.

2. Paradoxically, the same power that had deprived Welsh of its official status contributed to the survival of Welsh into modern times. Through an act of Parliament, the Book of Common Prayer and the Bible were translated into Welsh in 1567 and 1588 respectively (Williams, 1969:66-67). This was done to foster Protestantism in Wales and to forestall any attempts by Roman Catholics to use Wales to plot against the English Crown. Thus a tradition of reading the Bible in Welsh developed, a tradition that helped to preserve the language. In 1621 a major Welsh grammar was published; in 1632, a major dictionary.

3. When the administration of Wales was centralized as a result of the Act of Union of 1536, the Anglicized gentry began to leave Wales to England. This left Wales somewhat leaderless and Welsh only spoken by what the British call "common people," ordinary folks, the "gwerin" (Fishlock, 1972:15). From the 17th century onwards, Welsh had the status of a despised and ridiculed language--despised and ridiculed by English and Anglicized rulers, that is. From that time on, many prejudice words and usages against the Welsh and their language entered English, as an examination of entries under "Wales" and "Welsh" in the complete Oxford New English Dictionary, Vol. 10, would show.

4. The Welsh language was given a boost by the Methodist revival in Wales in the 18th century. Griffith Jones established "Circulating Schools" in which itinerant masters taught Bible reading to both adults and children (1737-1779). Thomas Charles

in 1789 established "Sunday Schools" that helped to create a reading public in Wales and, for a century, were the only schools that taught their pupils (both adults and children) in Welsh and helped to keep the language alive (Williams, 1969: 45-147, 154-155).

5. Two drastic blows were dealt to the Welsh language (by the English) in the 19th century, blows the effect of which still reverberates to this day: (a) the 1847 "Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales," and (b) the 1870 Education Act. We shall treat each of these events in some detail.

A. The 1847 Report (The "Betrayal of the Blue Books")

In the first half of the nineteenth century, industrialization in Wales, like industrialization in England, was accompanied by dislocation and social unrest (cf. Thompson, 1966; Cole and Postgate, 1961). As Coupland (1954:185) puts it, "It was widely held that the outbreaks of lawlessness in Wales were mainly due to the ignorance of the working class"--an ignorance remediable by "education." The earliest report on education in Wales, written in 1840 by a Mr. Tremenheere of the Committee of Council on Education and entitled "The State of Elementary Education in the Mining Districts of South Wales," echoed these sentiments. One of the typical statements of the era, widely quoted at the time, was that of the Rev. H. W. Bellairs (cited in the 1953 H.M.S.O. Report, The Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales, p. 7, emphasis added):

> It should be borne in mind that an ill-educated and undisciplined population, like that existing

> amongst the mines of South Wales, is one which may be found most dangerous to the neighbourhood in which it dwells; and that a band of efficient schoolmasters may be kept at a much less expense than a body of police or soldiery.

In other words, education was conceived of as a sort of "pscification program" (to use a modern term) to keep the "labouring classes" manageable; teachers as cultural cops. Indeed, systems of compulsory education were established in the industrialized countries of the nineteenth century to ensure, among other things, a disciplined and minimally literate labor force (cf. the Pittsburgh Survey in America, published 1909 to 1914). Justification of education as "enlightment" and something good for "citizenship" came much later. The spirit of the time, as far as Britain was concerned, is admirably captured in a quotation from a Robert Lowe, that refers to what he said in 1867 but that could have been expressed even much more strongly in the Britain of 1847 (cited by Sellman, 1967:frontispiece, emphasis added):

> The lower classes ought to be educated to discharge the duties cast upon them. They should also be educated that they may appreciate and defer to a higher cultivation when they meet it. And the higher classes ought to be educated in a very different manner, in order that they may exhibit to the lower classes that higher education to which, if it were shown to them, they would bow down and defer (Robert Lowe, 1867).

P. F. Speed's book (1970), Learning and Teaching in Victorian Times, is indicative of similar sentiments. The point is that in nineteenth-century Britain, middle and upper-class writers and those who shared their sentiments looked upon what they termed the "lower classes" and the "labouring classes" as if they were a "separate nation" (to use Disraeli's phrase), almost as if these classes were "brown-faced colonials" in India and Africa. What Englishmen had to say about the Welsh of the nineteenth century was said with a "double impunity" so to speak: Welshmen were foreign and were impoverished, doubly colonial and subjugated, hence could be slandered or publicly criticized at will. (The same is true of non-Anglo and non-Protestant White immigrants and their descendants in America until about 1945; of non-Whites in America even until now. Cf. Gossett, 1969; Higham, 1971; the Boston Globe of the 1890's, and Life Magazine, 1920-1950.) This explains the context and tone of the 1847 Report on the state of education in Wales.

As a result of the efforts of a Welsh-born M. P. for Coventry, William Williams, who moved in 1846 that an inquiry be conducted into the state of education in the Principality, "especially into the means afforded to the labouring classes of acquiring a knowledge of the English language" (Coupland, 1954: 186), the Government appointed a three-man Commission to look into the matter, all "English, of course," all lawyers, and all thought to be capable and conscientious--R. R. W. Lingen, J. C. S. Symons, and H. V. Johnson. The Commissioners knew no Welsh; they had Welsh-speaking assistant. As Coupland (1954: 186-187) put it,

> ....They had to rely on those English-speaking members of their own class with whom they naturally associated and those English-speaking

> witnesses who gave evidence before them. Thus their opinions were bound to be influenced by those of anglicized Welsh society--the landed gentry, the leading townsmen and the Anglican clergy--who were separated....from the mass of the poorer folk in town and country by a wider gulf than that which divided the corresponding classes in England.

The Commissioners divided Wales into three sections and after a six months' exhaustive investigation issued what was virtually a unanimous report, though published in three separate parts. "The Commissioners' description of working-class education was bound to be depressing. If it was bad enough in England at that time, it was much worse, in quantity and quality alike, in Wales" (Coupland, 1954:187). Schools in Wales were "wretchedly inadequate"--one-room schools with very few books and, quite often, half-educated teachers. "The teacher's profession, said one of the Commissioners, who never minced their words, 'is one of the last esteemed and worst remunerated: one of those vocations which serve as the sinks of all others'" (Coupland, 1954:188, emphasis added to show the proper colonial attitude). (The America of the time did not fare any better in matters of schooling and schools, and of types of teachers employed. For two of the most cogent chapters ever written on the history of American education down to about 1950, see Hofstadter, 1963:299-358--Chapters 12 and 13.)

But the most important thing about the 1847 Report was not its description of the sorry state of affairs in the Welsh schools of 1847. What was important about it was that it blamed all the shortcomings of Welsh education on the Welsh language itself, identifying knowledge of English with progress and of Welsh with backwardness. The 1847 Report, however, did not stop at that but went on to identify knowledge of Welsh with the backwardness of Welsh life in general and with every conceivable shortcoming.

> "The Welsh language," says Symons, "is a vast drawback to Wales and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people." It "bars the access of improving knowledge to their minds." Because of their language, says Johnson, the mass of the Welsh people were inferior to the English "in every branch of practical knowledge and skill." In one field, in particular, in the administration of justice, "the evil of the Welsh language is obviously and fearfully great....It distorts the truth, favours fraud, and abets perjury"(Coupland, 1954:188-189, emphasis added).

According to the Commissioners, English, of course, was incapable of distorting the truth, or so it seems. It is not that the Commissioners suggested that Welshmen would do well to learn English in order to join the "march of progress" and let it go at that, but that Welshmen ought to get rid of their language, "this disastrous barrier to all moral improvement and popular progress in Wales" (cited in Coupland, 1954:189). "There is no Welsh literature worthy of the name," quoth the Commissioners (Coupland, 1954:189), when Welshmen in all walks of life had fiercely believed (and continue to believe) that theirs was one of the greatest literary traditions in the world.

"For the sake of Wales, Welsh must go," believed the Commissioners (Coupland, 1954:190), a statement somehow reminiscent of one made by an American commander during the late 1960's when a large town in the northern part of South Vietnam was completely demolished--"We had to destroy the town in order to save it." In the case of Welsh, however, a case of psychological rather than adamantly physical violence, two influences, as Coupland points out (1954:190), were already at work: the desire of working-class Welshmen to teach their children English in order to "rise in life," and the penetration of English into Wales through immigration of Englishmen to it and through economic expansion.

The Commissioners' frontal attack on the Welsh language--denying it any value at all, regarding it as an "evil"--was also linked with an attack on Welsh Nonconformity. What seemed to bother the Commissioners was that Welsh Dissent almost monopolized education in Wales and seemed to them too insulated and discouraging children and adults from getting interested in secular matters, in anything connected with modern life and thought. For one thing, the Commissioners averred, because of the educational activities of Welsh Dissent the people of Wales were "better versed in the geography of Palestine than of Wales" (cited in Coupland, 1954:192, emphasis added). "The books, the periodicals, they were almost all religious. The people knew their Bible from end to end, but what else?....This limitation of outlook, this aloofness from the surrounding world, was at root the reason why the Commissioners linked their criticism of Welsh Dissent with their attack on the Welsh language" (Coupland, 1954:192).

The 1847 Report was a three-pronged attack on Welshmen (a) as foreigners, a subjugated population, an ethnic group, and (b) as members of the working class--on their language, their religion, and their morals. As Coupland maintains, the Commissioners,

> ....were shocked, it appeared, by what they were told about the character of the Welsh workers, and in a number of outspoken sentences scattered throughout their reports, they delivered judgment on their morals. It was at least as stern and sweeping as their condemnation of their language ....Not only were "cleanliness and decency" neglected: "side by side with warmth of religious feeling there was widespread disregard of temperance, of chastity, of veracity, and of fair-dealing." Of these immoralities the worst and most common was sexual incontinence. It was "the besetting sin...." (Coupland, 1954:193, emphasis added).

Accusing out-groups of being dirty and untrustworthy, of lacking "cleanliness and decency," is a well-known stance taken by an in-group towards those it considers outsiders or subordinate or both. That a persecuted out-group could also be thought to be composed of super-studs and nymphomaniacs is not unfamiliar in human mythology, e.g., regarding what some Christians believed about Jews in Medieval times and some Whites in America continue to like to believe about Blacks. In the case of the English Commissioners of 1846, it should be pointed out, many of their witnesses were clergymen, perhaps in those days more interested than laymen in over-exaggerating "sin," especially if the clergymen were Anglican and those identified with "sin" Nonconformist and Welsh.

When one adopts a conquest framework for viewing race and ethnic relations, an "internal colonialism" framework, then one becomes more consciously aware of the traditional subjugation of the colonized in matters of culture, religion, language, and social class--of the "ready condemnability" of the colonized by the colonizer. Coupland, of course, like other cultural and political historians--but especially himself, since he was keenly interested in national movements in the British Empire and wrote several books about them--is fully aware of these matters, yet fails to bring them out, all together and in one place, consciously and conspicuously for the reader. This is what we would like to do here deliberately, for the 1847 Report was written by upper-class, Anglican, English Commissioners about working-class, Nonconformist, Welsh Commissionees (to coin a word to show those on the receiving end), which allows us to depict not only the importance of ethnicity, language, and religion, as matters of crucial importance about the Report but also the matter of social class. Coupland, with his usual sense of fairness, comments on the upper-class English Commissioners' "stern and sweeping condemnation" of the working-class Welshmen as follows:

> They /the Commissioners/ probably knew very little about rustic morals in England and still less about the vices of the slums; for the social conscience of the English governing class had only just begun to be awakened to an interest in such matters....Did they imagine that the English poor were incomparably cleaner, more decent, more chaste?....Surely they should

> have made it plain that the moral failings they thought it their duty to denounce in Wales were not unknown among their fellow-countrymen or, for that matter, anywhere else (Coupland, 1954:194, emphasis added).

However, Coupland adds, "*Still stranger was the official publication of the full text of the reports*. For surely the authorities should have foreseen--they can scarcely have wished to provoke--the inevitable reaction. All Wales....was up in arms" (1954:194, emphasis added). It was not strange at all to publish such Report, for Coupland himself supplies an answer in what he had mentioned earlier, namely, (a) that the Commissioners "were living in the intellectual climate of *Macaulay's England* (1954:191, emphasis added), and (b) that in the same way that Macaulay had a decade earlier "ruthlessly ....swept aside the ancient languages of India," "it is not surprising that the Commissioners should have swept aside the ancient language of Wales" (1954:190). That is to say, this was the age of colonialism when England was the supreme colonizing power, when it had no equal competitors, and when the ascendancy of the English, both inside and outside Britain, was complete and unquestionable (late comers to the colonial game--Germany, Italy, Japan, and some say the U.S.A.--appeared on the international scene only after 1875).

In this connection, it should also be emphasized that "nationality was not understood in early Victorian England as it is understood today. *Few, if any, Englishmen can have thought much as yet about the value of a nation's language* to its mind and soul, or realised that, if it lost its language, the best elements in its life might be cut from their roots and wither. Such ideas would have seemed fanciful to the Commissioners. Knowing no Welsh, unable to read Welsh poetry, they did not trouble to consider whether English might be acquired without discarding Welsh. It is safe to say that the notion of a bi-lingual Wales never entered their heads" (Coupland, 1954:191, emphasis added). It can be said that the notion of language as the essence of nationality began to take root in Germany especially after 1871--when it was itching for expansion and finding that the fat pickings had already been seized by other European powers--and in France, especially after the defeat of 1871 when it lost two of its provinces, Alsace and Lorraine, to Germany. From that time on, language as nationality began to be used both in a defensive (e.g., as in Wales) and in an offensive manner (e.g., in India during the "language riots" and the officialization of Hindi).

We have tried to pull together what Coupland, with his usual erudition, has left almost imperceptibly scattered throughout his long account, perhaps the best account, on the 1847 Report. We can summarize our account by saying that the 1847 Parliamentary report was essentially a colonial, race-supremacist document, of the kind that an imperial power did not hesitate to produce in the Victorian era. The report blamed all of Wales's ills, real or imagined, on the Welsh language. The Commissioners who wrote the report attributed what they thought was widespread drunkenness and bastardy, among other evils they enumerated, to knowledge of the Welsh language, forgetting that at the time many counties in England, especially Cheshire and Cumberland, produced much more of these "evils" than Wales as a whole. The report was Anglican in bias, for a number of witnesses were Anglican parsons who were against the Nonconformist, Welsh-speaking Chapel movement in Wales and perhaps wanted to stimulate their parishioners to better behavior through a catalogue of Welsh-language-related "evils"; in addition, many of what we now call "research assistants" were students from an Anglican college in Lampeter. This Royal Commission's report defamed and libelled a whole nation; it was an attack on the language, religion, and personal morality of the Welsh and became known among them as the "Treason of the Blue Books," the "Treachery of the Blue Books," or the "Betrayal of the Blue Books" ("Brad-y-Llyfrau Gleision"), "blue books" being the popular way of referring to Parliamentary reports because of the color of their covers (Earnshaw, 1970:224-230; Williams, 1969: 253-257, 273-274; 1948 H.M.S.O. report, pp. 11-13).

We have dwelt at length on the 1847 Report, a document initiated by Parliament, because it seems to summarize Wales's colonial history and because it definitely indicated the beginning of Wales's modern history. The 1847 Report initiated a new era in Welsh national consciousness, an era finally culminating in attempts to establish Welsh-medium schools when the Welsh by 1945 had already developed a Welsh-speaking intelligentsia vigorous enough to begin to exert some effort in asserting itself and its cultural rights.

The 1847 Report, the Brad, in the words of Coupland, "made the Welsh more conscious of their nationhood: it stung Welsh nationalism awake" (1954:195, emphasis added).

## B. The 1870 Education Act

England built a national system of education in 1870. The 1870 Education Act, among other things, set up compulsory elementary schools in Wales and made English the sole medium of instruction in those schools (later on, Welsh was to be introduced as a subject, somewhat like French or Latin). English was the language of "getting on in the world"; Welsh was the language of the poor and the backward and was banned from school grounds.

One of the devices that zealous school masters employed to terrorize their monoglot Welsh charges into acquisition of English as the sole working language of the school was the "Welsh Not." It was a piece of wood, suspended by a string around a child's neck, on which was written "Welsh Stick" or "Welsh Not." Any child caught speaking Welsh by any other child or by the teacher had to wear this device around his neck; he could not get rid of it until he caught another child speaking Welsh. The last child to retain the "Welsh Not" around his neck was severely punished at the end of the day; sometimes, all children who had been caught speaking Welsh that day. The author has met many Welsh people in Wales whose grandparents had been punished in school for speaking Welsh and who still shudder whenever this type of punishment is recalled by them. Some of these grandparents had refused to pass on the "Welsh Not" to other children, preferring to be the only ones to be punished for speaking Welsh. At times, the "Welsh Not" itself was a heavy board rather than a light piece of wood, as Sir O. M. Edwards, the famous Welsh writer, who was later on quite instrumental in reviving the Welsh language recalls about his childhood. The same device, it may be added, was used in France in the 19th century to punish school children who spoke Breton, Gascon, or Provençal; there, it was called "Iou Signum" or the "Sign", that is, the "sign of shame" (Holt, 1971:33-35; Fishlock, 1972:48, 67; Coupland, 1954:210).

On the basis of the Education Act of 1870, Parliament established a state-wide system of elementary schools in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland based on English as a medium of instruction. In Wales, as Saunders Lewis has pointed out,

> ....It was the Blue Books which triumphed. Despite the anger and wrath they engendered, despite the fervent protest provoked by their dark picture of Welsh Nonconformity, strangely enough the whole of Wales, and Welsh Nonconformity in particular, adopted all the policy and main recommendations of the baleful report. The nation's leaders, both laymen and ministers, devoted their energies to the utmost to the establishment of a thoroughly English educational system in every part of Wales, ranging from primary schools to normal colleges and three university colleges with a University Charter crowning it all ("Tyngyd yr Iaith"--"The Fate of the Language," the English translation in A. R. Jones and G. Thomas, 1973:132-133, emphasis added).

With English, especially after 1870, being the route to academic and economic advancement, the Welsh language suffered. What Matthew Arnold--himself an admirer of Celts, who claimed a "'Celtic fibre' in the English spirit" (Coupland, 1954:206)--had written in his official report as an Inspector of Schools in 1852 came to pass after the 1870 Education Act, or almost did:

> It must always be the desire of a Government to render its dominions, as far as possible, homogeneous....Sooner or later, the difference of language between Wales and England will probably be effaced....,an event which is socially and politically so desirable (cited in "Tyngyd yr Iaith," in A. R. Jones and G. Thomas, 1973:127).

In 1885, a Welsh Language Society was established. The full title of the Society was "The Society for the Utilisation of the Welsh Language in Education for the Purpose of Serving a Better and More Intelligent Knowledge of English." Through encouragement of the use of Welsh, the Society aimed at promotion of self-respect in the people of Wales. Six years after it was founded, the Society succeeded in introducing Welsh as a subject in schools. In Welsh, the Welsh Language Society was called Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg, a title revived in 1962, more than half a century after the 19th century society had faded.

In 1907, it was permitted to teach any school subject in Welsh. In 1927, an H.M.S.O. report, entitled Welsh in Education and Life, recommended use of Welsh especially in the primary schools. In 1939, the first Welsh-language school opened in Aberystwyth.

It took almost a century between the 1847 Parliamentary report on Education in Wales (the Brad, the "Betrayal of the Blue Books") and the end of the Second World War for Wales not only to develop a middle-class but also a Welsh-speaking intelligentsia capable of developing a well-articulated ideology for fighting on behalf of the language. After the passage of the 1870 compulsory education Act, the problem of Wales towards the end of the nineteenth century was that "without a Welsh educational system, without any legal or official status for the language, there was no hope of assimilating the newcomers," the flood of English monoglots that began to arrive into Wales as a result of industrial expansion (Cynog Davies, 1974-75:93).

The Welsh-medium schools, the Ysgolion Cymraeg, the deliberate instrument for revival of the Welsh language are expanding in enrollment; more of them are being established. As some pro-Welsh, Welsh-speaking, Welshmen, conversant with the history of national movements that aimed, among other things, at language revival have remarked, "If you believe it, it is no dream"--a reference to a popular saying by a Zionist leader concerning the revival of Hebrew as a language of daily life and the successful political efforts of the Zionist Movement.

(For a historically-anchored, well-reasoned, yet a bit diffuse argument concerning the place of the Welsh language in the life of Wales, in schools as well as other institutions, see the newly translated political platform of the Welsh Language Society, entitled "Cymdeithas yr Iaith: The Manifesto Translated," in Planet, 26-27:77-136, Winter 1974-75.)

"YSGOLION CYMRAEG" (WELSH-MEDIUM SCHOOLS)

The first Welsh school ever to be established in this century was founded at Aberystwyth on September 25, 1939, less than four weeks after the start of the Second World War. Because Aberystwyth at the time overflowed with evacuees from Liverpool, the school authorities in Aberystwyth decided not to maintain a "stream" (special grouping) for Welsh-speaking children but to teach them through the medium of English. Thereupon, Ifan ab Owen Edwards, founder of the Welsh League of Youth (Urdd Gobaith Cymru) and crusader on behalf of the Welsh language, decided to set up a primary school himself for his five-year-old son, Owen, and his son's classmates. The school started with seven children (Norah Isaac, 1972: 84-88).

The aim of the school was to "nurture citizenship, Christian living, and love for Beauty, and that on the foundation of the culture of Wales." From the start, music, drama, and the creative arts were emphasized (Isaac, 1972:92, 96). The school was fortunate to have had Ifan ab Owen Edwards, a versatile man, as patron and active sponsor and Norah Isaac, a dedicated and most capable teacher, as headmistress. For the first time since the 1870 Education Act, Welshmen, in the person of the founder and staff of the "Aberystwyth Welsh School," as it came to be called, could exercise full influence in nurturing their language and culture in a school setting.

The spirit of that school could be somewhat recaptured if it is remembered that Welshmen connected with that school saw in it a fulfillment of part of King Arthur's pledge:

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Their historic memory extended back to the eighteenth century, remembering and identifying with Twm o'r Nant who had fumed against the servility of Welshmen who would renounce their Welsh as they acquired English:

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It should be remembered that it was Ifan ab Owen Edwards (later on, Sir Ifan) who, during his lifetime (1895-1970), more than anyone else helped change Welsh from "being mainly the language of a poor peasantry confined to cottage and chapel, field and mart....⁄to becoming⁄ also the free language of camp and playing field, festival and games, pilgrimage and cruise, radio and television, and education" (Isaac, 1972:8).

That primary school taught three languages: Welsh, English, and French (Isaac, 1972:94). More importantly, its staff were fully aware of it as an agency of cultural regeneration. They, being dedicated people, also believed that "the education given there was as all-embracing, of equal value, and as good as the best elsewhere" (Isaac, 1972:94).

The school was often bitterly criticized, called disdainfully "Ifan ap's School" (Isaac, 1972:92). It was also pejoratively called by some of the local people of Aberystwyth the "Welsh *Nat* School," i.e., the Welsh Nationalists' School. In 1939, the feeling against Welsh nationalists still ran high especially among Anglicized Welshmen. Plaid Cymru then had acquired a somewhat notorious reputation because in 1936 its founder, Saunders Lewis, and two of his colleagues had set fire to one of the buildings of the RAF Bombing School in the Llŷn peninsula as a protest against the arbitrary expropriation of Welsh land by the Government and the dislodgement of Welsh speakers from one of the most famous traditional strongholds of Welsh culture (see Saunders Lewis's "Caernarvon Court Speech" of October 13, 1936 in A. R. Jones and G. Thomas, 1973:115-126; N. Thomas, 1973b:53-54; G. Evans, 1974:439-440). Some of the local organizations did not even want any of the staff members of the school to be invited to meet with them to explain the purposes of the school and would boycott a meeting if it was scheduled.

Later on, as the school prospered in spite of opposition, it came to be known as the "Snob School" because it was a private, fee-paying school, attended basically by the sons and daughters of professional people, middle-class people. Indeed, even now, although Welsh-medium schools in Anglicized areas are part of the state system of education, they are called by some people "Snob Schools" because of the predominantly professional class that sends its children to them.

Whereas the "Welsh School" at Aberystwyth was originally intended for Welsh-speakers, it did admit some children who were not fluent in Welsh. The importance of this school was that it established that Anglicized children could rapidly become proficiently bilingual; it was the prototype for similar schools (Leslie Jones, Under Secretary, Welsh Office & Welsh Education Office, Cardiff, Circular No. 32/74, 1 March 1974, page 1).

The 1944 Education Act gave parents in England and Wales some say in deciding their children's education within the state system. As a result, many pro-Welsh Welsh parents teamed up with the newly-formed National Association of the Teachers of Wales ("Undeb Cenedlaethol Athrawon Cymru," or UCAC for short) to push for establishment of Welsh schools in Anglicized areas. The General Secretary of UCAC himself is credited with having been instrumental in mobilizing parents for that purpose, an effort that finally culminated in the establishment of the National Union of Welsh Schools' Parents' Associations. "This Union is today the guiding spirit of the movement for the establishment and extension of the new Welsh Schools, co-ordinating the work of local parents' associations and formulating policy for the future on a national scale and acting as a pressure group upon Local Education Authorities and Members of Parliament" (C. Thomas, 1966:80).

In a belated amendment to history, a symbolic gesture to condemn what the 1847 Parliamentary report on education in

Wales had wrought, R. A. Butler, speaking in the House of Commons as Minister of Education in 1946, said:

> We have also had some courses initiated in the Welsh language. I regard as obscurantist the attitude of the Commission of Inquiry exactly a hundred years ago which went to Wales and took the view that to keep alive a knowledge of this beautiful tongue was tantamount to crippling Welsh initiative and penalising Welsh endeavour. I wish now, a hundred years later, to make amends for that attitude" (Hansard, House of Commons, 1946, v. 380, c. 1411, quoted in Coupland, 1954:195).

The second Welsh-medium primary school to be established in Wales was at Llanelli in Carmarthenshire in 1947. Soon, other Welsh-medium primary schools were set up in other counties. Currently, there are more than 60 such schools.

In the 1940's and 1950's, the "go-ahead" (i.e., "go-getter" type) Director of Education for Flintshire, Haydn Williams, "by force of personality and scientific training," as some informants have asserted (i.e., he had a degree in engineering, an asset among a literary-minded and literature-loving population), established a number of Welsh-medium primary schools in Flintshire, a much Anglicized border county in the northern part of Wales. In 1956, he established the first Welsh-medium secondary school in Wales in Rhyl, Flintshire, called the Ysgol Glan Clwyd, to cater for the western part of the county (three years ago, the school moved to St. Asaph, a nearby location). Within the county, Rhyl was farthest away from England, thus had a large Welsh "catchment area," i.e., an attendance district ensuring the ready availability of a high percentage of Welsh-speaking children. In 1961, Haydn Williams set up another Welsh-medium secondary school to serve the eastern part of the county, Ysgol Maes Garmon in Mold, Flintshire. Currently, there are seven Welsh-medium secondary schools in Wales.

It should perhaps be made clear at this juncture that schools that use Welsh as a medium of instruction for various subjects are called "Welsh-medium Schools," "Bilingual Schools," or simply "Welsh Schools." This is in contradistinction to the prevalent kind of schools in Wales ever since the 1870 Education Act, the English-medium schools. The former of course are those founded, with the exception of the first one at Aberystwyth, after World War II.

Welsh-medium schools have faced a lot of opposition from Local Education Authorities (in England and Wales, these are usually the elected local-government officials, not members of an altogether separate school board). In Wales, the Labour Party dominates many of the local-government councils and authorities; it has been traditionally against promoting the Welsh language. The difficulties faced, and continue to be faced, by parents who desire to have a Welsh-based type of education for their children are well depicted by Ceinwen Thomas (1966:80-81, emphasis added):

> At first, parents found Local Education Authorities indifferent or even hostile. They had, therefore, to find accommodation themselves--usually chapel vestries--and finance and staff the school and buy all necessary equipment. They also paid for the transport of the children to the school; many still do. In those early days, it

> might take two or three years to persuade the Education Authority to adopt the school and proof had always to be given that the school was free of debt. The financial sacrifice of the parents has, therefore, been considerable. When the Authority finally took the school over, it would be accommodated in an old empty school building or in empty classrooms in an existing school. The arrangements were far from ideal but the parents made no complaints, however unprepossessing the accommodations. The vital thing was to get the school established and accepted.
>
> The work of the local Parents' Association is not finished when the Education Authority takes over their school. They work in close harmony with the teachers to provide equipment that the Authority does not provide and they are responsible for recruiting new pupils for the nursery school and for financing it, so that the Welsh primary school may grow to a size comparable with the local English schools.

As a schoolmistress of a Welsh-medium primary school put it, "Using church vestries as classrooms is a traditional Welsh practice; it is the cheapest form of accommodation (laughter)!....Our school building is overcrowded; it is an old vestry....The Educational Authorities are not very helpful. The Councillors are Labour and they think Welsh schools are hotbeds of Welsh nationalism (said ironically)....Thus the Councillors are not about to encourage Welsh schools. So Welsh schools wait for an old building to be vacated when a new school building is built for an English-medium school" (5/17/74 Field Notes).

Without exception, Welsh-medium schools tend to have dedicated teachers and highly cooperative parents, for to establish such schools, by definition, has meant sacrifice and constant effort to overcome material and non-material difficulties, the latter especially political and psychological. It seems that London is not keen on building proportionately as many modern school facilities in Wales as in England even for English-medium schools, let alone Welsh-medium ones. For example, in 1968 only 40% of school children in Wales were housed in buildings built since 1945, as compared with 60% in England, and only 17% of children in Welsh-medium schools were housed in buildings built since that date (G. Evans, 1969:44). It is the impression of this writer that, on the whole, Welsh-medium primary schools tend to have had, and mostly continue to have, the worst possible physical facilities. To mention but three examples, taken from different parts of the country, among a score visited: (a) St. Paul's Welsh School, Bangor, established in 1953, in a nineteenth-century building, shortly moving into new headquarters. (b) St. Francis Welsh Primary School, Barry, Glamorgan, near Cardiff, a converted church vestry; the parents themselves contributed materials and labor to build two additional rooms, but these two rooms have no running water and no cloakrooms (restrooms)--quite a problem for young children. The junior-school part is moving out to another building next year and the whole school will then become an infants school. (c) Cwmbwrla Welsh Primary School, Swansea--very overcrowded in a very old dilapidated building that is used by the city for other purposes, e.g., a remedial reading center. One marvels at the good nature and dedication of the staff under these physically trying circumstances, but then education is more than buildings and the overriding motivation of the staff and unstinting support of the parents are the difference that makes a difference. Also, unlike in America, the teacher in Wales has authority and respect; he or she does not have to negotiate and renegotiate his or her authority daily with parents and pupils. The teacher is left in peace to do his work. The headmaster (usually called the "head" over there) has, by American standards, what seems to be unquestioned and unquestionable authority; he or she is the kingpin of the whole endeavor and the crucial factor in providing unity and coherence to an educational enterprise which is at heart symbolically one of regeneration and rebirth of Wales. The teacher, indeed, over there is *in loco parentis*, an extension of the family, not *in loco baby-sitter*; the headmaster or headmistress still teaches (he is literally a "head-teacher"), having not yet discovered the mystique of full "administration" that for some American principals seems to mean a divine sort of talent overlaid with scientific management and technocratic rationality. The Welsh-medium school is still a pre-industrial Gemeinschaft in its social bonds and, most often, in its physical facilities! (On extension of kinship ties into schooling situations, see Spindler's study of Schoenhausen, Germany, in Spindler, 1974:230-271.)

Welsh-medium secondary schools, being newer than the primary ones, tend to be better housed, e.g., Rhydfelen School, near Pontypridd, about twenty miles northwest of Cardiff. On the other hand Morgan Llwyd School in Wrexham, in northeast Wales, is housed in obsolete Army barracks, facilities that seem to be climatically unsuitable winter or summer. Morgan Llwyd School was established in its present location in 1963 but will move into a new building on site in 1975-1976. It takes a certain kind of renunciation--e.g., to live by more than bread alone--to work under these circumstances, to practice a sort of Tanzanian "Ujemaa" in a Welsh setting, to prefer community to "getting on," to meditate on Wales as part of the different particularisms within human identity that are wishing to survive the crushing advance of computerized, post-colonial oppression (cf. G. Meils, 1973:16-19; N. Thomas, 1973d:326).

Was it Lovelace who said, "Stone walls do not a prison make, Nor iron bars a cage"? When it comes to school buildings, beauty, naturally, is in the eye of the beholder, nicht wahr?

It should be remembered that some of the evacuees, the English children who had been brought to Wales during the Second World War and who had indirectly contributed to the establishment of the first Welsh-medium school in Aberystwyth, themselves learned Welsh and continued--a few even to this day--to maintain close ties with their Welsh foster families and the Welsh localities in which they had spent the War years. Many Welshmen marvelled at the ease with which English children could pick up the Welsh language! In the same way that even English children did learn Welsh, some English-speaking Welshmen reasoned, so their own children would do so. Hence, although the early Welsh-medium schools did rely heavily on Welsh-speaking children as a nucleus for their enrollment, many later

Welsh-medium schools had actually to "create" Welsh children out of English-speaking ones. At present, the overall rate of children from English-speaking homes who attend Welsh-medium schools is close to 80%. Welsh-medium schools are agencies for Welshification, for Gallicization, for Cymrygeiddio, in the same way that American schools have been traditionally agencies for Americanization, and consciously so.

There are essentially two kinds of schools in Wales: English-medium and Welsh-medium schools. English-medium schools are the predominant ones; they have been for more than a hundred years (since the Education Act of 1870) an agency for Anglicizing Welshmen. They are, paradoxically, found in many Welsh-speaking communities. All subjects in these schools are taught through the medium of English (with the exception of Welsh when taught as a language). Welsh-medium schools, on the other hand, are found, paradoxically enough, in the Anglicized area of Wales; they teach most subjects in the medium of Welsh, with the exception of physical science and Mathematics and English when taught as a language. In a fundamental sense, Welsh-medium schools are bilingual schools, stressing proficiency in both Welsh and English; indeed, these schools would never have been accepted by Welsh parents if they had not demonstrated to everyone's satisfaction that the academic achievement of their students was equal to, and in many instances superior to, English-medium schools in Wales and even in England itself.

It should be stressed that English-medium schools cater to the needs of two kinds of people: either Welsh-speaking, mobility-oriented, rural or urban working-class, or English-speaking, middle or working-class. On the other hand, Welsh-medium schools predominantly serve a Welsh-speaking middle-class--parents and pupils who are already in the middle-class but whose home language is Welsh or whose aspirations are more Welsh than "British." Hence, these schools have been dubbed by their detractors as the "snob" schools, i.e., enviably successful schools, because the "best" people send their children to them.

It should be added that there is a sub-variety of English-medium schools in Wales that has what is known as a "Welsh stream," that is, a school-within-a-school where some subjects are taught in Welsh for Welsh-speaking students who elect this preference.

Currently (the latest statistics are for 1973-74), there are in Wales 61 Welsh-medium primary schools; 6 Welsh-medium secondary schools; 545 English-medium primary, and 58 secondary, schools where one or more subjects other than Welsh are taught through the medium of Welsh. In terms of enrollment, there are currently approximately 8,500 pupils in Welsh-medium primary schools (first six grades); approximately 3,500 in Welsh-medium secondary schools (last six grades). In addition, there are approximately 75,000 children who attend primary, 32,500 who attend secondary, schools where Welsh is to some extent a medium of instruction (one or more subjects in addition to Welsh being taught in Welsh). Of the approximately 512,000 children currently attending 2255 schools in Wales (not counting nursery schools), this represents approximately 22% overall exposure to Welsh as a medium of instruction--a percentage not

## TABLE 6

## 1973-74 WELSH-MEDIUM PRIMARY & SECONDARY SCHOOLS: ENROLLMENT PER NEW (POST-APRIL, 1974) COUNTIES

| New Counties (& old constituent ones) | Welsh-Medium Primary Schools | | Welsh-Medium Secondary Schools | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. of Schools | Pupils | No. of Schools | Pupils |
| 1. CLWYD (Denbighshire & Flintshire) | 13 | 2,120 | 3 | 1,570 |
| 2. DYFED (Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, & Pembrokeshire) | 9 | 994 | 1 | 166 |
| 3. GWENT (Monmouthshire) | 3 | 120 | --- | --- |
| 4. GWYNEDD (Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, & Merionethshire) | 4 | 544 | --- | --- |
| 5. POWYS (Breconshire, Montgomeryshire, & Radnorshire) | 4 | 210 | --- | --- |
| 6. SOUTH GLAMORGAN (eastern part of old Glamorgan) | 4 | 852 | --- | --- |
| 7. MID-GLAMORGAN (central part of old Glamorgan) | 15 | 2,496 | 1 | 833 |
| 8. WEST GLAMORGAN (western part of old Glamorgan) | 9 | 1,289 | 1 | 875 |
| TOTALS | 61 | 8,645 | 6 | 3,444 |

Source: Welsh Department, Welsh Joint Education Committee, Cardiff

Note: (a) The 13 counties of Wales were regrouped into 8 (5 and 3 new divisions of Glamorgan) to form new enlarged counties as of April 1, 1974. Old Welsh place-names were used for the new counties.

TABLE 6 (continued)

Note: (b) The enrollment statistics are those updated to April, 1974.

(c) A new Welsh-medium primary school had already been scheduled to open in September, 1974--Caergybi in Gwynedd, starting with 40 pupils--as well as a new Welsh-medium secondary one--Llanharri in Bridgend, Mid-Glamorgan, starting with 90 pupils. Thus for September, 1974, there would be 62 Welsh-medium primary, and 7 Welsh-medium secondary, schools.

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## TABLE 7

## 1973-74: OVERALL EXPOSURE TO WELSH AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION -- WELSH-MEDIUM SCHOOLS IN ANGLICIZED AREAS & ENGLISH-MEDIUM SCHOOLS IN WELSH-SPEAKING AREAS

| | Primary Schools | | Secondary Schools | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. of Schools | No. of Pupils | No. of Schools | No. of Pupils |
| 1. Welsh-medium schools in Anglicized areas | 61 | 8,645 | 6 | 3,444 |
| 2. English-medium schools in Welsh-speaking areas (instances where one or more subjects in addition to Welsh is taught in Welsh) | 484 | 75,000* | 52 | 32,500* |
| Totals: | 545 | 83,645 | 58 | 35,944 |
| 3. All schools in Wales (Welsh & English-medium) | 1,966 | 311,368 | 289 | 201,065 |

*: Estimates

Note: (a) Regarding the total of 603 schools (67 Welsh-medium in Anglicized areas and 536 English-medium but with a provision for teaching one or more subjects in Welsh besides Welsh itself), the source is the Welsh Joint Education Committee. Regarding the total number of schools in Wales and their overall enrollment, the source is Wales Year Book, 1974-75, 1974:43.

(b) Nursery schools are omitted from this tabulation.

too high perhaps, but high enough for promoters of the Welsh language to make the revival of Welsh as a medium of speech and thought possible, if not probable. (See Tables 6 and 7 for figures and for distribution per county.)

It should be stressed that the aforementioned 22% overall exposure to Welsh (603 schools in relation to a total of 2255 in Wales; an enrollment of approximately 120,000 pupils in these schools in relation to a total enrollment of approximately 512,000 pupils in all schools in Wales) represents *potential* overall exposure, not actual exposure, for not all pupils in the 536 primary and secondary schools--where more than one subject, in addition to Welsh, is taught in Welsh--elect to take the Welsh-medium school subjects. Put differently, whereas the 1971 Census has shown that the overall percentage of Welsh speakers throughout Wales is approximately 21% or one-fifth of the population, Welsh is "the language of *less* than 20% of the children now at school" (Cynog Davies, 1974:80, emphasis in the original).

It is difficult to collect precise statistics in Wales on actual school enrollments in relation to Welsh-medium instruction outside the fully Welsh-medium (or bilingual) schools in Anglicized areas. No one at the Welsh Education Office (part of the Welsh Office at Cardiff) or the D.E.S. (Department of Education and Science, the home-base of "H.M.I.'s" or school inspectors, Cardiff) seems to have up-to-date statistics or comprehensive ones. That Welsh-medium education itself is rapidly changing in Wales, that in 1974 the 13 counties of Wales representing 17 local education authorities were being reorganized into 8 new counties representing 8 educational authorities (no one seemed to know where the records of the old education authorities were going to be housed nor the names of the new persons in charge), and that statistics are political matters (the original meaning of "statistics" is numerical facts about affairs of state) may have contributed to the lack of readily available statistics pertaining to this issue. Besides, the intrepid compilation of statistics for ready dissemination seems to be an American "hang-up" not a British one (in Britain, at least not publicly so, for the British Civil Service has an undying reputation of always being ready and capable, its homework always done)! In America, as a French author has wittily remarked (Daninos, 1957:156-165), a sentence is never a sentence until there is a figure in it! For our efforts to gather relevant statistics--of the type so readily available in the U.S.--so that specific rather than general information could be conveyed, see Tables 6 and 7.

To put Welsh-medium schools in Wales in a larger, and thus more meaningful, context, one must see the whole of which they are a part: an interlocking system or features of a system, of feeder schools and support units. Such a system consists of the following, each unit feeding into the other:

1. Welsh Nursery Schools and Welsh Play-Groups for Pre-Schoolers

Welsh nursery schools have sustained Welsh-medium primary schools all along. They are part of a definite pattern that the Welsh-medium school movement has assumed.

> A handful of children between the ages of 2-1/2 to 5 years is collected to form a nursery school in some convenient building and taught voluntarily by a retired woman teacher, often for nothing. The school may meet two or even five mornings a week. As the children reach five years of age they enter a Welsh class in some local primary school under the auspices of the Education Authority on the understanding that this is the nucleus of a Welsh School. When this Welsh stream has grown large enough, it is housed in its own building as a separate Welsh school (C. Thomas, 1966:81).

One should add that the "Welsh stream" is not "housed in its own building as a separate Welsh school" except after a long hassle, as many informants have asserted. Local Education Authorities are not well-disposed to encouraging establishment of Welsh-medium schools; in fact they tend to be quite opposed.

According to a 1972 White Paper (i.e., a British Government report), entitled "Education: A framework for Expansion" and dated December 1972, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, then Minister of Education (currently--1975--Shadow Prime Minister for the Conservative Party) declared that nursery school education would be provided for all children hopefully in the next ten years, suggesting that in the meantime all nursery education should be on a part-time basis so that twice the number of children could enjoy nursery facilities. As a result, for example, Councillor Pen Evans, Chairman of the Swansea Education Authority, turned the two full-time nursery classes for Welsh-speaking children at Cwmbwrla School and Lonlas School into part-time ones, the morning session for

Welsh-speaking children; the afternoon one for English-speaking ones. Concerned parents, though emphasizing the importance of a full-time nursery in maintaining their children as Welsh-speakers against incessant bombardment from the mass media and other Anglicizing agencies, lost their fight to keep full-time nursery classes. Cwmbwrla School, a Welsh-medium primary school, had to admit an English-speaking nursery class; the Welsh nursery feeding Lonlas School was transferred to another school where the headmistress was known for her unsympathetic attitude to Welsh speakers (Meithrin, Bwletin Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin, Pasg 1973, page 8 --Meithrin, i.e., "Nursery," Bulletin of the Welsh Nursery School Movement, Easter 1973 issue, p. 8). The same story has been repeated in other places.

It should be emphasized that the nursery school is not part of compulsory education in Britain. Compulsory education starts with age 5, the primary school being from age 5 - 11 (the infants school 5-7, the junior school 7-11), the secondary one from 11-18 (pupils can leave school at age 16). Thus some primary schools in Wales have nursery schools, others do not. Nursery school teachers are not even paid like regular teachers (i.e., according to the "Burnham Scale"), but less. In 1973-74, there were 50 nursery schools in Wales with a total enrollment of 1,235 children (1974-75 Wales Year Book, 1974:43), but it is not known how many of these 50 nursery schools (i.e., nursery classes within primary schools) were Welsh-medium ones. One is inclined to say none, because in the context of a brief reference to Welsh-medium schools, the _1974-75 Wales Year Book_ conveys the information that there are "about 160 Welsh nursery schools" (1974:46) but does not state their enrollment. Some DES (Dept. of Education and Science, London) statistics put the number of 1972 nursery schools in Wales (1974:23) at 46, which means that some of the Welsh-medium nursery schools--if one is to believe the estimate of the _1974-75 Wales Year Book_--have not been counted, or that in the _Year Book_ Welsh nursery schools have been confused with the Welsh nursery _play-groups_.

Whereas nursery schools come under the education division of the Welsh Office, nursery _play-groups_ come under the division of social services of the Welsh Office. In 1973-74--more accurately in November of 1973--there were 180 Welsh nursery play-groups established throughout Wales operating on a shoestring budget of £5500 (approximately $13,750) to pay for the national organizer of playgroups and her office expenses. The City of Cardiff College of Education and the Teachers College at Bangor, North Wales, had at the time (1973-74) begun to establish a new program for training teachers for nursery playgroups and for training nursery aides. Cardiff, for example, had only one Welsh-medium primary school but 7 Welsh nursery playgroups feeding into it (11/30/1973 Field Notes).

Welsh nursery play-groups, as distinguished from Welsh nursery schools, are not part of any primary school but completely voluntary endeavors and completely run by parents. About a dozen children meet for two mornings a week for two hours each time--parents then would pay £3.00 ($7.50) a term, or 30 pence (75 cents) a week; or for three mornings a week--in which case parents then pay £6.00 ($15.00) per term. Some nursery play-groups may even run for 4 or 5 mornings a week, 3 hours each morning; the important thing is that these nursery play-groups are completely self-supporting, depending on a lot of voluntary effort. Parents team up, rent suitable accommodations if necessary, and organize the play-group. If necessary, they can borrow up to £30.00 ($75.00) from the national play-group organizer's office to get started!

These Welsh nursery play-groups have been criticized as being essentially "middle-class." And middle-class they are, for the money and effort expended, the sense of organization, the dedication, and the ready accessibility to and necessary contact with the world of professionals and academicians is all middle-class. Any one familiar with the world of voluntary associations in America--especially the civic, religious, or cultural variety, the kind that takes on ethnic flavor or even ethnic cultural nationalism, e.g., among the post-1945 rising non-Anglo and non-Protestant groups--cannot but notice the striking similarity in the pattern of leadership and activities of middle-class Welsh matrons and their American counterparts ("middle-class" is used here in its pre-1970 sense, i.e., without inflation, monetary or otherwise).

In Welsh nursery play-groups, Anglicized English-speaking children learn Welsh. English-speaking parents are handed sheets with simple expressions of "Do's" and "Don't's" in Welsh so they can practice some Welsh at home with their Welsh-learning children and reinforce their efforts! Usually, a "coffee evening or morning" is arranged so that the Welsh-speaking parents in the group can help with the correct Welsh pronunciation. Examples of "useful words, commands, and phrases" that English-speaking monoglot parents may learn are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Paid/Paidiwch | Don't (singular/plural) |
| Brysia/Brysiwch | Hurry up (singular/plural) |
| Ar unwaith! | At once! |
| Beth sy'n bod? | What's the matter? |
| Paid â chrio | Don't cry (singular) |
| Da iawn | Very good |
| Ardderchog | Excellent |
| Ble mae'r.... | Where is the ....? |

Wyt ti eisiau (Do you want--singular)...llaeth (milk)

Ydych chi eisiau (Do you want--plural)...mynd ar y siglon (to go on the swing)

And so forth.

Parents active in the Welsh nursery play-group movement are hoping that the Welsh nursery play-groups may soon become part of the local educational authorities' program.

2. Welsh-Medium Primary Schools (where English is taught as a second language); and

3. Welsh-Medium Secondary Schools--which we have so far discussed in some detail but which will also be discussed at length later on in this chapter.

4. Welsh-Medium Higher Education

At present, this consists of only some courses taught in Welsh (with the exception of Welsh itself) at two of the constituent colleges of the University of Wales and at two colleges of education:

(a) At Bangor, some of the courses taught in Welsh are sociology, philosophy, Hebrew and Greek for Divinity students, and theology.

(b) At Aberystwyth, all courses in education are taught through Welsh.

(c) At Trinity Teacher Training College, Carmarthen, and Bangor Normal College--courses in education, literature, and drama are taught in Welsh.

Thus essentially only some education, social science, and divinity courses are taught in Welsh, but nothing else. Currently, there is an attempt to establish a full Welsh-medium college or at least to have one of the University Colleges--e.g., at Aberystwyth--designated as the Welsh-medium college for the University of Wales. (See N. Thomas, 1971:20-21; also "A Memorandum on a Welsh-Medium College in the University Sector," prepared by the "Working Party Elected by the Aberystwyth Conference of Welsh National Organisations Held on 24 November 1973," and submitted to the Council of the University of Wales on 15 March 1974, Mimeo., text in Welsh and English, March 1974.)

In essence, the two ends of the above four-point continuum are still unclear and unsystematic: Welsh-medium nurseries and play-groups and Welsh-medium higher education. This restricts Welsh-medium education mainly to the primary and secondary level.

In addition, there are support units and research projects which are aiding Welsh cultural resurgence and supplying Welsh-medium schools with materials and expertise. They are:

(a) Welsh Reading Books Scheme ("scheme" in the British rather than the American sense!) of the Welsh Joint Education Committee, Cardiff.

(b) Welsh National Language Unit, Treforest, Pontypridd, Mid-Glamorgan.

(c) Bilingual Education Project, Gartholwg Church Village, Pontypridd, Mid-Glamorgan.

(d) Welsh language Research Unit of the University of Wales, Cardiff.

(e) English and Welsh History Project, Glamorgan College of Education, Barry, Glamorgan.

(f) Welsh Dialects Research Project, Welsh Folk Museum, St. Fagan's, Cardiff.

(g) Education Projects, Welsh National Museum, Cardiff.

(h) Welsh National Library, Aberystwyth.

(i) Salisbury Welsh Library, Cardiff.

We will discuss only some of these.

### (A) Welsh Reading Books Scheme of the Welsh Joint Education Committee

The Welsh Joint Education Committee (W.J.E.C.) is an association of all local education authorities in Wales, established in 1948 in accordance with the provisions of the 1944 Education Act which allowed such authorities to combine for the purpose of carrying out mutually beneficial functions with respect to education. The W.J.E.C. is a pressure group, has a lot of clout, has money to spend on education, and is highly interested in bilingual education. It has sponsored, for example, establishment of the Welsh National Language Unit (see below) at Treforest, Pontypridd, Mid-Glamorgan, for the purpose of developing materials for use in Welsh-medium schools. It encourages adults to learn Welsh as a second language (its 1972 directory for that purpose lists 204 schools, colleges, and adult education centers where evening courses are offered). The W.J.E.C. has a permanent secretary and staff, works largely through standing committees in coordinating the activities of Welsh education authorities, and is located in Cardiff (see W.J.E.C., The Joint Committee Comes of Age: 1948-1969, 1969). The Welsh Language and Culture Standing Committee, for example, has a right to make recommendations concerning policy with regard to whether Welsh is to be compulsory or optional in various types of schools in different parts of Wales, whether for example English-speaking parents who are newcomers to a Welsh-speaking community can "opt out" when it comes to Welsh classes for their children or are to be encouraged from the start to "opt in" and not object, and so forth.

The Welsh Joint Education Committee represents a pooling of resources among the various local education authorities in Wales. Part of the power of the W.J.E.C. lies in the fact that whereas England has 26 examining boards--7 for the G.C.E. (General Certificate of Education), "A" level and "O" level; 13 for the C.S.E. (Certificate of Secondary Education), a certificate lower than the "O" level; and 6 for technical institutions--Wales has only one for the three functions, the W.J.E.C. (1974-75 Wales Year Book, 1974:48). This means that the W.J.E.C. is in charge not only of exams but also of syllabi for the various options of study. (For an interesting petition for introduction of Anglo-Welsh literature in the English syllabus--apparently English-speaking Welsh children are given literary works only of English, never Welsh, provenance--see the December, 1973 issue of the UCAC Bulletin.)

The Welsh Books Scheme of the Welsh Joint Education Committee, established in 1966, has a twofold purpose: (a) to develop general readers for use by pupils whose first or second language is Welsh, readers for pupils up to age 18; and (b) to develop textbooks in Welsh for use primarily in Welsh-medium secondary schools. Already by 1973-74, the Welsh Books Scheme has produced (a) over 400 general readers for ages 4-18, and (b) over 40 textbooks on geography, craftwork, religious education, cookery (what Americans call, in their genteel-Gothic way, "domestic science"), science books (e.g., a Welsh edition of Heinemann's science-for-the-school series), books on Welsh itself as a language, and--something those in charge of the Welsh Books Scheme are extremely proud of, and justifiably so--a book on shorthand in Welsh. They practically had to create a shorthand based on Pitman's shorthand course, a book, called Llaw-Fer yn Gymraeg, which Pitman has subsequently published, and which has done very well commercially. A geography book (yes, they still do teach "geography" in Britain--not always the advanced American-type mish-mash known as "social studies"), an original work produced by this Scheme, is among the very best published in Britain; it is Yr Ynysoedd Prydeinig ("the British Isles") by D.J.O. Williams.

One of the most remarkable achievements of the Welsh Books Scheme is the series of children's stories adapted (not merely translated) from books published in various countries: Holland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, France, China, Poland, Germany, and other countries. The rule of the W.J.E.C. is to make sure there is no political ideology imparted with children's stories, that the W.J.E.C. itself does not "in any shape or form spread any political ideology" (5/30/74 Field Notes). J. Elwyn Jones, for example, has done two Welsh editions of stories from Polish, one called The Carnival by Gerhardt Hauptmann, and one called simply Stories from Polish, now published by Y Bala publishers. The Welsh Joint Education Committee is a member of the International Institute for Children's Literature and Reading Research (Fuhrmannsgasse 18-a, A-1080, Vienna, Austria), which publishes a journal in English (Bookbird) and through which the W.J.E.C. keeps in touch with what is internationally developed in this area. Welsh educators (indeed, not only educators but academicians in Britain in general) seem so naturally and unself-consciously internationally-minded that their "parallel numbers" in America (to use a favorite term of the historian Richard Koebner) seem so parochial and irrevocably limited in comparison. Wales is a small country reaching out to many countries rather than building a cultural wall around itself.

Another splendid achievement of the Welsh Books Scheme is publication of an encyclopedia in Welsh for children between the ages of 11 and 14. The encyclopedia is called Chwilota, which means "searching" or "researching," and is projected to be in 6 volumes (one volume to be published per year), the first volume of which has already appeared (covering "Abacus" to "Cannwyll," the latter meaning "candle," but a far cry from "Lamp, Book, and Candle," the movie of Kim Novak). "Cyfrol 1" (Volume 1) is attractively printed; it is published by the University of Wales Press, Cardiff, and costs ₤2.75 ($6.85 approximately). When finished, the set of 6 volumes will cost less than ₤20.00 (less then $50.00).

The encyclopedia is an original work. As an informant put it, "It is the first time ever there was an encyclopedia in Wales written for the children from a Welsh point of view" (5/30/74 Field Notes). It is, of course, a marvellous service for the language--part of the dedicated effort that pro-Welsh Welshmen carry on calmly but surely on behalf of the language.

An Editorial Board of Specialties, lecturers at the University and others, drew up a draft of a sample encyclopedia. They prepared a list of topics to be discussed, presenting them in alphabetical order. The list went before the Board of the W.J.E.C., which approved and recommended some changes. Among those on the Editorial Board are D. Gwyn Jones and Boswell Taylor, well-known in academic circles in Wales.

Through the Welsh Books Scheme, the W.J.E.C. sponsors the publication of what it considers is required by the schools; in other words, it publishes materials to be used. The W.J.E.C. has a "Needs Panel" composed of teachers, school organizers, and officers (deputy directors of education) regarding the reading interests of children of various age-groups. "The librarians of Wales are unionized. Therefore, there are librarians responsible for children's books, so they are also asked for their advice" (5/30/74 Field Notes, W.J.E.C. informant).

With regard to children's readers, the W.J.E.C. publishes books geared to the following age groups: 5-7, 7-9, 9-11, 11-15, and 15-18. Manuscripts for consideration of the Editorial Panel are received as a result of annual Welsh books competition arranged by the local education authorities or by the W.J.E.C. itself or as commissioned works. Welsh language textbooks are published for three kinds of pupils: those for whom Welsh is either a first language or a second language, and for slow readers. Manuscripts are either commissioned, volunteered by individual authors, or are Welsh editions of textbooks already published in English.

The initial publisher who undertakes to issue the first edition of a book does not lose money; he is guaranteed the sale of 1200, 1600, or 2000 copies (depending on the type of book), which pays for the initial cost of publication. It is up to the publisher to issue a second edition. Without such definite sponsorship, without such assurance of guaranteed minimum sales in a limited market, not many books for children would have been published in Welsh. The Welsh Joint Education Committee spends close to Ł160,000 ($400,000) a year on the guaranteed sales; when the Welsh Books Scheme got started in 1966, such budget was Ł27,000 ($67,500).

Once a year, the Welsh Joint Education Committee publishes a list of books for the benefit of the schools, called Llyfrau Cymraeg i Blant ("Welsh Books in Print"), so that schools would know what is available. Obviously, such support service--the Welsh Books Scheme--is crucial to the success of Welsh-medium schools in Wales.

(B) Welsh National Language Unit, Treforest, Pontypridd, Mid-Glamorgan

The Welsh National Language Unit was established by the Welsh Joint Education Committee in 1968 for the express purpose of developing printed materials and audio-visual approaches for teaching Welsh as a second language to Welsh children who are monoglot English-speakers. It should be remembered that currently there is an inadequate supply of Welsh-speaking children who come to school already fluent in Welsh, hence for school purposes, Welsh children have to be created; indeed, constantly recreated annually until such time as more homes begin producing them generationally and in abundance. Welsh-speaking children have to be created in Wales in as much as Hebrew-speaking children have to be created in Israel from among recent immigrants whose forefathers had spent centuries speaking the languages of the Goyim. And in the same way that classical Hebrew has had to be twisted and stretched in order to be made into a language suitable for the requirements of everyday life in the twentieth century--at times, for example, becoming mere translation of German constructs (Zeit, the German for "time," becomes Zeitung, the German for "newspaper"; in the same way in modern Hebrew has Ett been made into Etton)--

so has classical Welsh had to be pulled and bent in order to be standardized for modern purposes. The same would occur if Highlanders in Scotland seriously decided to revive Gaelic southwards till Hadrian's Wall. But, of course ("mais oui" in French, as you know), whereas Hebrew is an official language in Israel, Welsh or Scottish Gaelic is not one in Wales or Scotland, and that most often makes a big difference.

One of the toughest problems the Welsh National Language Unit had to face in developing new materials and vocabularies was the gulf--indeed, the wide chasm--between a literary archaic language, the kind a few scholars would master after much hard toil and steadfast concentration, and the colloquial language spoken by ordinary folks in North and South Wales. Like ancient languages with a long literary tradition, languages that had standards of excellence tied to a holy book or translation of a holy book, or languages used for a long time in the administration of lands untouched by the industrial revolution--e.g., Chinese, Arabic, Persian, and pre-1918 Ottoman Turkish--Welsh has diglossia, that is, two forms of the same language existing side by side, one used by the educated class for literary purposes, the other used by the common people for daily communication. If English, for example, were to have diglossia, then its only acceptable written form would be something similar to Chaucerian English, to the syntax and vocabulary of the Canterbury Tales, and its everyday spoken form would be the more or less standard one taught by the schools. Languages having diglossia usually evolve a middle-range version, one that uses a more simplified grammar coupled with more modern vocabulary, e.g., "Newspaper Arabic," something halfway between the Koranic-type classical Arabic used by heavy-weight scholars and the spoken Arabic used by the masses. Historically, the guardians of the literary language, an almost sacred or near-sacred tongue, have been the upper classes and the Mandarin civil-service stratum--in China and in Moslem countries. To have been in command of the literary or classical version of a language would have meant that person was an upper, a near-upper, or at best not a commoner down-and-outer--much as those with an Oxonian accent, BBC accent, or Harvard accent used to feel prior to 1945, that is, prior to the democratization and levelling out of U-C speech at these places. In other words, language is an index of social class or of social pretensions, a matter of vested interests.

Diglossia itself can be a source of creativity within a given language once the two versions of the language begin to be bridged. Then, and only then, would the language as a whole acquire different levels of meaning and a range of nuances not otherwise available in any one version. Historically, this has happened in English itself. English, it can be said, consists to this day of two warring elements, which is part of its creativity: Latin, a cerebral element, the traditional language of clerics, and Anglo-Saxon, the language of farmers and fishermen. The former is formalistic; the latter earthy--consider, for example, the difference between the Latin element, "cordial reception," and the Anglo-Saxon one, "hearty welcome"! In English, however, the two elements of the historical diglossia are fused, not kept apart as in pre-industrial or ancient, but still spoken, languages.

In overhauling a pre-industrial language for modern use (i.e., a language not historically associated with industrialization, a non-Western European language, a language with an agrarian tradition), some nations, such as Turkey, have deliberately outlawed or proscribed what used to be the classical, formalistic, written version of the language. No graduate of a Turkish secondary school or university understands the Turkish written before 1918, the Ottoman Turkish or Osmanlija, the predominant syntax and vocabulary of which was heavily Persian and Arabic, the language used for administering the Turkish Empire for 400 years (1512-1918), the language--and this is the rub--in which the founding fathers of modern Turkey wrote their treatises on modern Turkish nationalism! Of course, he can read that in translation--in translation into modern Turkish, that is, partly into what used to be referred to prior to 1918 as crude or peasant Turkish, or Kaba Turkche. In the same way, Jeremiah's Hebrew is not, on a day-by-day basis, a usable or a readily accessible language to Israeli-born Jews, although it may be readily accessible to scholars. (On some of these issues, see Ferguson, 1968; Gallagher, 1971; Blanc, 1968; Fishman, et al., 1968.)

Because Welsh has been a persecuted language, like a prophet losing honor in his own country, and because the Morgan Bible, the 1588 Welsh translation of the Bible, has set up such a high standard of elegant and eloquent Welsh--much like the 1611 King James version of the Bible in English--some Welsh scholars have exhibited a tendency well-known among speakers of sacred tongues, a tendency that can be termed deification of the language. In its extreme form, rather than various attenuated ones, this tendency represents a phobia against making any mistake in grammar or syntax (when the grammar or syntax of the classical form itself is so intricate and complex to start with), a quest for purity of expression, a zeal for maintenance of the sanctity of the language at all costs (in a sense, this is a "virginal" view of the language, where linguistic virginity is kept up at a price). When a panel of experts, for example, was set up by the Welsh Joint Education Committee to advise the newly-formed Welsh National Language Unit, some of the purists on the panel wanted, as an objective, the "restoration of the Biblical language, not the promotion of the living language. They talked about Modern Welsh being corrupted. They said they'd rather face the demise of the language rather than having it corrupted" (5/30/74 Field Notes).

From the start, the Welsh National Language Unit faced a battle over written vs. spoken language, a battle over language "purity." There are very few people in Wales, as several informants have asserted, who can write classical Welsh accurately. "People admire the quality of written Welsh, but there are so many rules to apply in writing Welsh that you have to be constantly alert to remember them. Mastering all the mechanics of writing Welsh is a never-ending pursuit. Honours graduates in Welsh can't write Welsh correctly; even people with high academic qualifications can't write it correctly....There is reliance on memorization of rather abstract rules rather than on speech habits....There are a couple of dozen rules governing the mutations alone....Teachers had their self-confidence undermined because they did not know classical Welsh well.... You can still hear the complaint, 'But I don't speak proper Welsh'"(5/30/74 Field Notes).

As a writer on the modernization of Welsh has put it,

> Obviously, the Welsh taught by the teacher must be the living language, and not a stilted, archaic, literary language....The only accepted forms of Welsh were the literary ones and these were palpably unsuitable for oral work in language. At the same time no one dared to venture to use colloquial forms in the absence of any accepted forms sanctioned by authority wherever that authority might lie....The predominant cause for the failure to develop a tradition of successful oral work in the past was the absence of an accepted colloquial form of Welsh" (E. Evans, 1972:90-91, emphasis added).

In other words, what was available for the Welsh National Language Unit, a research unit, to draw upon when it was first established in 1968 was the "language of elites and super-elites, the monopoly of a Bardic group--classical Welsh" (5/30/74 Field Notes). Against Cymraeg Iawn (Proper Welsh) and Cymraeg Cywir (Correct Welsh), the Language Unit had to devise something called Cymraeg Byw (Living Welsh), a usable daily language, a language for speech, a standardized oral form. Such problems are not unknown in movements to modernize and standardize languages, e.g., in the case of Norwegian, Irish, Modern Turkish, Modern Hebrew, let alone Esperanto. The series, Cymraeg Byw (Living Welsh) produced by the Language Unit deals with the grammar and syntax of

Spoken Welsh, rather than with vocabulary.

When an emphasis on living language rather than classical poetry or literature was adopted, the problem was what to choose from among various dialects in Welsh. Members of the Language Unit selected in an ad hoc fashion elements from various dialects as a basis for an ad hoc assessment, e.g., to find out which were, for example, nearest the written Welsh, which came close to literary forms, which were of more than local circulation. In this case, the more "corrupt" form, that is, the one of more general application, was selected. In and of itself, being nearest the literary language was the least important criterion for selection; what counted was overall currency. What was perhaps the most important criterion was the uniform development of a given form in various dialects. A third criterion for selection was the availability of a form, out of the many available, that gave the learner access to the language, that was simple and clear.

Any attempt to base oral teaching not on spoken Welsh but on the literary language was initially fraught with difficulties and ultimately doomed to failure. The Welsh of the Medieval bards was, as several informants have asserted, archaic even in the Middle Ages. Besides, as some informants have said, children from Welsh-speaking homes, in learning literary Welsh with a view to trying it in speech, often found it grotesque and a subject for amusement and jeering. More importantly, the following differences between classical Welsh and spoken Welsh could lead to confusion if the classical was to be adopted for everyday speech:

(a) What is the present tense in classical Welsh is the future tense in spoken Welsh.

(b) In written Welsh, the verb is negated with a pre-verbal negative element, whereas in spoken Welsh, the verb is negated with a post-verbal negative element. Classical Welsh is extremely intricate and places great emphasis on what some modern Welshmen tend to call "rather minor considerations of exactness." A child from a Welsh-speaking home in trying to speak or even read literary Welsh would get, because of the difference in negation, "entirely false speech rhythms, speaking Welsh with a strange intonation....a great reason for failure, ....it is teaching the wrong language" (5/30/74 Field Notes).

(c) To simplify the issue of mild mutations for the beginning Welsh-speaker, it is necessary to start him on sentences beginning with a definite noun so that it would be unmutated. "Cadair" (chair) if mutated becomes, for example, "gadair"; "cath" (cat) becomes "chath," but with "Mae'r" (is) before "gadair," "gadair" stays "gadair," a definite, unshaky form for the beginning learner to acquire, something solid to sit on, e.g., "Mae'r gadair ar y llawr" (the chair is on the floor).

Whereas a good teacher can teach Welsh with or without audio-visual aids, the effect of those is that they compel language researchers to look at language in a real-life situation rather than a classroom situation. The Welsh National Language Unit has, among other things, developed audio-visual approaches for teaching Welsh to primary school children, children of age 7 upwards. Whereas traditional teaching methods have focused on the father-mother-and-children sort of traditional unit, people at Language Unit have focused on situations where children can speak with other children, with each other--situations not overwhelmed from the start with adult presence. As a perceptive language researcher put it,

> Children use a kind of language among themselves that textbooks don't regard as proper. No child meeting his pal on the street would say "Good Morning"--it is an adult greeting. Therefore, you need more informal things as "Hello" or "Cheerio."....Then you see how children swear--not "I'll hit you" but "I'll bash you" (laughter). Therefore, it is very important to give children the language that would give them the psychological relief they need. It is really important to introduce a very mild form of abuse rather than swearing....But Welsh teachers and speakers are products of narrow-minded homes and won't stand for children learning "Jesus Christ," "Fire of Hell," and "Go to hell"--in Welsh background, these are very strong swear words....That's the kind of language, in perhaps milder form, that is real and necessary, so children would speak with one another as children, and not as miniature adults.
>
> It is easier to deal with adults. No one would justify teaching abusive English in school (laughter) ....There is a need to give violent expressions occasionally--if children can't say it in Welsh, they will say it in English....Much of the language of children is jeering, mocking, leg-pulling, expressing

> anger, coaxing....A teacher to be a successful language teacher must be able to act out various roles, so he can pull their leg and have his leg pulled too. He must be able to kid children, to make fun of them, and to take it from them. But many teachers would find this very difficult in a school situation--it is perhaps part of the personality problems of the teacher as teacher (said matter-of-factly and without condemnation)....But schools and teachers have to equip children to deal with a variety of situations and a variety of roles. The 12-14 children nowadays are verging on adulthood; therefore, more abuse and teasing should be included in books on the spoken language (5/30/74 Field Notes).

For teaching spoken Welsh in the primary school, the Welsh National Language Unit has developed a series called "Llafar a Llun" (Voice and Picture), that is, audio-visual aids not to introduce but to illustrate what the teacher has already introduced. For example, the Language Unit has taken an already existing textbook, Siarad Cymraeg (Speak Welsh), which is focused on situations and dialogues developed from the standpoint of children, and produced 40 tapes on themes associated with that textbook. The Language Unit has also developed Teachers' Manuals for use with the "Llafar a Llun" series.

In addition, the Language Unit has developed textbooks for adults, textbooks that were easier to do because no such sensitivity, as in the case of children, was involved. The Language Unit also has a teacher-training course--materials for training teachers in the field. For example, two teachers from the Language Unit put on a demonstration for two comprehensive (secondary) schools and help teachers in their classrooms. They spend 10-12 weeks in one area and move on to the next, thus each area in turn gets serviced. "There is more support for appointment of advisory teachers," as an informant asserted. "It's a great thing psychologically--showing success to teachers in various areas. If you can demonstrate a successful approach in their own area, then you have removed most of the objection" (5/30/74 Field Notes).

Obviously, the Welsh National Language Unit is an important element in introducing Welsh as a second language, increasing the number of Welsh-speaking children, in creating Welsh pupils for Welsh-medium schools.

(C) Bilingual Education Project, Gartholwg Church Village, Pontypridd, Mid-Glamorgan

In 1967, two important reports on primary education were issued--one for England, known as the Plowden Report; the other for Wales, known as the Gittins Report. The Gittins Report recommended that Welsh be introduced as a second language as early in the school-life of English-speaking Welsh children as possible and that "Bilingual Schools" be set up, that is, primary schools where Welsh is introduced from the nursery stage upwards so that by the junior stage level (ages 7-11) Welsh could be used as a medium of instruction for some subjects. The Gittins Report was sponsored by the "Central Advisory Council for Education (Wales)," an arm of the Department of Education and Science.

Perhaps the flavor of the Gittins Report, and the background for the aforementioned recommendation, could be captured in the following statements, taken from section 11.3 of the Report, a section entitled "Language, Culture, and Community":

> The Welsh language is still a vital element in the particular identity of Wales, in spite of its retreat in the face of mass-communications and vast economic and social changes....The Welsh language gives Wales its unique status, without which it would be but another province of the British Isles....
>
> Since it is the Welsh language which in large measure gives Wales its own peculiar identity and carries an important part of its historical tradition, it has a claim on the loyalty of those who claim to be Welsh. We have the right to be what we are and the responsibility of ensuring that we hand down what has been given to us (Gittins Report, 1967: 212-213, emphasis added).

Charles Gittins (a professor at Swansea) himself, prior to his death, set up the Bilingual Education Project to be a seven-year project, with a duration from September, 1968 through March, 1975 (the Project was launched in January, 1969). The Project is sponsored by the Schools Council Committee for Wales, part of an association of local education authorities in both England and Wales, which is supported by the Government and interested in research activities. The grant is made to the Glamorgan Education Committee.

The Project consists of a pilot study (first two years) and a research and demonstration stage (last 5 years). For the pilot study, the budget was £25,000.00; for the later stage, ₤107,000.00, that is, about $330,000.00 for 7 years, which is a fraction of what the R&D (Research and Development) and "dissemination"-type projects are funded with in the U.S., or at least used to be funded with prior to the Age of Nixon (1970).

"In both Israel and Wales," as an informant has asserted, "children are not educated in the language of their parents" (3/27/74 Field Notes), by which he meant that the objective of Hebrew-medium schools in Israel has been to Israelize or Zionize children of new immigrants; that of Welsh-medium schools, to Welshify them. In a sense, the central objective of the Bilingual Education Project of the Schools Council Committee for Wales is Cymrygeiddio, that is, Welshification or Gallicization of English-speaking Welsh children, of turning them from monoglots to bilinguals. And in another sense too, this Welshification process can be termed a sort of "compensatory education," for the purpose of the Bilingual Project is to bring the knowledge of Welsh on the part of monoglot children up to the standard of the native Welsh-speaker. The Project aims not only to teach children Welsh but to Gallicize them through introducing them to the importance of the Eisteddfod, the Urdd, Welsh poets, the church and chapel.

In the majority of schools in Wales, that is, in the English-medium schools, Welsh is taught as a subject for 20 minutes a day (one lesson); in the secondary school, for half-an-hour a day. In contrast with the traditional approach of isolating children for a short period of time daily or weekly, for the purpose of teaching them a language,

> The Project's aim is to make second-language learning in a sense incidental to the total educational process, because the language-learning process is grafted onto situations and activities of immediate interest to the child. This approach should prove to be beneficial for two reasons. In the first place, it removed an objection which is sometimes voiced, namely that time devoted to teaching a second language could be better spent on other things, because the specific aim of this programme is that the child should become acquainted with the second language while he is engrossed in activities which are of calculated educational value, whether they are used in conjunction with the first or second language (E. Price, 1972:3, emphasis added).

With parents reassured that learning Welsh on the part of their children did not take place at the expense of other worthwhile school activities, the Bilingual Project gained acceptance. "Experience seems to have shown that the operation of the experiment awakens and fosters a parental interest which perhaps did not exist before" (E. Price, 1972:2); in other words, a sort of Hawthorne Effect. It should be noted that

> ....three important conditions which were thought by the Gittins Committee to be a necessary pre-requisite to the carrying out of such an experiment, did not in fact exist when the Project was set up. Few of the schools obtained are situated in areas where there is residual Welsh. Parental support for the establishment of the

> experiment was not always ascertained beforehand, though little opposition to the scheme has occurred....Thirdly, there was no secondment of teachers to a special training course before the experimental programme was launched. Instead, the in-service training essential for effective participation has had to be provided by the frequent school visits of the project staff.... (E. Price, 1972:2).

During the pilot-study stage (first two years of the Bilingual Project), 28 infant schools (ages 4-7 in the primary school) in the Anglicized areas of Wales in eleven counties were involved. "The project-team prepared 8 teachers' handbooks, together with listening books and relevant tapes, and further material for use in these second-language lessons such as recorded songs, simple dance tunes, rhythm and movement activities, physical education, nature lessons, puppet theatre work, and graded Bible work. Questionnaires, written reports, and taped records of the children's development provide an on-going evaluation of the work being done" (two-page printed statement on the project, entitled "Bilingual Education in the Anglicized Areas of Wales," p. 1 of the English text).

In the last five years of the project, 1971-75, the original 28 schools have been retained and 28 other schools added, with bilingual education extended to other infant classes and the original infants in the project followed through to the junior stage. In other words, whereas the pilot study was concerned with ages 5-7 in 28 schools, the main project has been concerned with ages 5-11 (the infant and the junior stages of the primary school) in 56 schools. The project enables children to be, at the end of the infant stage or at age seven-plus, sufficiently bilingual as to profit from instruction through the medium of both languages at the junior stage (ages 7-11).

In 1974, the project team was enlarged; other schools were added. The project had then a total of 70 schools and 10,000 children.

Although Welsh educators are not as obsessed with "evaluation" as their American counterparts, they nevertheless allow for it. Hence, one of the objectives of the Bilingual Project is "to compare general attainment in Project schools with that of a matched control group" (E. Price, 1972:10). A battery of tests will be administered to the project group and a matched control group both at the end of the infants' school and in the junior school.

The following is more specific information on what is actually done and on built-in teacher feedback:

> The linguistic content of the programme is presented in the Teachers' Handbook for Infants' Schools (Gweithgareddau i'r Plant Bach 1 a 11). This contains a core of eight basic sentence structures, further broken down to provide 116 sentence patterns. These are based on "Cymraeg Byw" and are carefully selected and graded so as to provide the child with an effective and flexible means of communication. They include the present and past, perfect and imperfect tenses of verbs, patterns of statement, question and command, a wide range of prepositions, adjectives and adverbs, and activities chosen to form the

basis of the programme. These can all be found in the two-volume handbook. Any school operating this programme with imagination and flexibility should ensure that by the time they reach the top of the Infants' School, its pupils will have achieved a high enough level of comprehension and fluency in Welsh to enable them profitably to receive part of their instruction in the Junior School through the medium of that language. Supplementary documents are available for the Junior School, extending the core of language mastered in the Infants' School, to include, for example, further verb tenses and forms such as might be found in reading, comparison of adjectives, and more sophisticated use of prepositions. From the top infants' class onwards is laid the basis of reading skill in the second language, first by the introduction of reading activities (e.g., substitution and sentence-making with word cards). This work is based on patterns already mastered in the oral work and in the listening books. While the oral aspect of the work receives the greatest emphasis, experience has shown that some children are eager and able to read Welsh while still in the Infants' School. Any child who shows a desire and ability to read in the second language is allowed and encouraged to do so. A series of reading books will also be prepared to follow these early reading activities. Reading skill will begin to play a part in the activities of the second-language session at the Junior School level, when project work will entail a certain amount of reading of work-cards and even source materials....

More specific suggestions for classroom work are outlined in a series of eight supplementary handbooks for the Infants' School each one covering a different field of activities. The contents are as follows:

(1) Music and movement;
(2) Games for language practice, number-learning, time-telling, etc., and a selection of traditional group games and ritual rhymes;
(3) Seasonal activities;
(4) Nature study;
(5) Bible stories, hymns, and prayers;
(6) Scripts for dramatic and puppet play;
(7) Suggestions for oral and dramatic activities to increase sense-awareness;
(8) Sets of tape-transcripts of graded difficulty to accompany the series of listening books....

A selection of .... projects undertaken in the course of the Junior School curriculum, should ensure that the pupils cover a range of areas of experience, mathematical, scientific, geographical, sociological, historical, religious, and aesthetic. A set of four projects, namely Water, the Farm, the Parish Church, and Homes, which have been tried out in Junior Schools during the 1971-72 session provides the opportunity of exploring the following "syllabus":

| Areas of Experience | Ideas Encountered | Activities |
|---|---|---|
|  | .... | .... |
| Mathematical | Depth |  |
|  | .... |  |
|  | Proportion |  |
|  | Scale | Experiments to discover properties of water and electricity. |
|  | Sinking |  |
|  | Floating |  |
|  | Evaporation |  |

| Areas of Experience | Ideas Encountered | Activities |
|---|---|---|
| Mathematical | Condensation<br>.... | Study of<br>- dams<br>- houses |
| Scientific | Insolubility<br>Displacement<br>Level<br>Force<br>.... | .... |
| | Colour<br>Texture<br>Shape<br>.... | Painting, model-making, rubbings, lino-cuts, friezes, oral description, drama. |
| Geographical and Sociological | Industry<br>Occupation<br>.... | Discussion of families, homes, local industries, family history, occupations<br>.... |
| Historical | Past history | Research into local history. |
| Religious | Biblical history | Bible stories. |
| Aesthetic | Beauty<br>- in words<br>- in form<br>- in movement<br>- in sound<br>.... | Reading, memorising, dramatising, mime, music, art (creative and appreciative) |

.... In the task of producing materials and giving advice, the Project has been guided by the formative feedback provided by teacher-response. This has been recorded at regular intervals on forms provided for the purpose. These provide a record of choice of activities and language patterns used, and

> allow for a free commentary on the effectiveness or otherwise of materials and activities used. Another kind of feedback provides information about linguistic development in the second language. The teachers record on tape examples of oral work with class, groups and individuals. This kind of record is useful to the project team in their on-going work, as it provides a record of patterns of behaviour being established in Project schools, shows up variations in those patterns, and comments on the teacher-reaction to materials and suggestions provided (E. Price, 1972:4-9, emphasis added).

Since religious instruction and Bible stories have been mentioned in connection with this Bilingual Project, it should be made clear that unlike in America where there is a separation of church and state (remember the joke about someone being potentially able to make a lot of money by smuggling Bibles into American public schools), religious education in England and Wales is, under the 1944 Education Act, compulsory. "In all county and voluntary schools, it is the law that the day shall begin with an act of worship attended by the whole school and that religious instruction must be given" (D.E.S., 1974:3).

In the infants' and junior divisions of the 70 primary schools in the Bilingual Project in 1974, half a day is devoted to Welsh, e.g., in the afternoon session. The success of the project has depended on not asking teachers to do in Welsh what they do not do as a matter of course, as part of their daily routine. It was because the project was so successful after 18 months that the independent assessor recommended that it be expanded to cover all of the primary segment, ages 4 to 11, in 70 schools.

There has been very little opposition from parents. At one school (Sully School), for example, 147 parents were for it and only 3 against it. Some parents who have opposed the project were Irishmen from the Midlands, newcomers to Wales. Parents actually make equipment for children in the project schools (e.g., for drama lessons) and help in many other ways. An influential Welsh-speaking H.M.I. (school inspector) has prepared the way for the project, helping it in various ways.

There are not many qualified bilingual teachers available. Teachers find it easier to teach through the medium of one language. Some bilingual teachers have asserted that as a result of the project, they have become more conscious of their dialect in Welsh. Although they are Welsh-speakers they have never, until their participation in this project, taught through the medium of Welsh.

For the children, contact time with the language makes a difference. The greater the contact, the quicker the period of assimilation and creative speech. Sometimes some adults wonder how kids speak the "imperfect" (i.e., the imperfect tense in Welsh), and the answer of the project's staff is that kids just speak it, that children do not realize they are learning grammar but learn skills (e.g., shoe-lacing in infants school) and language together! Children learn the standardized form of Welsh, the Cymraeg Byw (Living Welsh) or street Welsh, not literary or classical Welsh.

"Heads" (i.e., headmasters, the popular way of referring to them in England and Wales) and teachers have been cooperative, but Heads especially had to be won over--from neutral or anti- to pro-Welsh. Some Heads initially thought that the project would be extra work for their teachers--they did not want "busybodies from the outside" (i.e., project staff) to look at their turf. But nothing succeeds like success; once the project showed its merit, headmasters were won over. Teaching Welsh, the second language, first for reading has been found by many teachers to be a good initial medium for reading because Welsh is phonetic. More importantly perhaps, one result of the project is that the progress of most children in the second language has outstripped their progress in English without making their learning suffer, which has won over Heads and teachers as well as spread the reputation of the project!

Because the project is supported by the Schools Council, it follows the regulations of the Department of Education and Science, London, which stipulate that materials in manuscript form (i.e., mimeographed) are DES copyright and cannot be distributed to schools not in the project itself. But there has been a "ripple effect": schools not in the project have expressed a great interest in the project materials that have been developed for use by teachers and have contacted the project staff saying "Blow the copyright," that because of the sense of urgency about these matters (they cannot wait till the project materials are in print), they wanted copies of these materials for their schools! The demand has been so great.

The only other project on the same wave-length, so to speak, is that headed by June Derricks, the "English for Immigrants" project at Leeds.

In addition to manuals for teachers, the Bilingual Project has prepared tapes to show the linguistic development of children and a film entitled "Regaining Ground." Among the booklets prepared for the junior stage of the primary school (ages 7-11), there is for example, a little lexicon that lists birds and trees; among other materials, there are tape-recordings describing flowers. The manuals for teachers that suggest activities include bilingual word lists, e.g., the mimeographed account entitled "Gweithgareddau yn Nhrefn yr Wyddor" (Activities in Alphabetical Order).

In Bible class in school, the object of story-telling is not merely telling but to extract language. It is, of course, important not to overwhelm children with many expressions in the new language. In order that they may be used in religious education, Welsh hymns--usually in literary Welsh--have been rewritten into Cymraeg Byw (Living Welsh).

Drama classes are important for self-expression. Puppets are used. Action songs are used to give children confidence, the confidence to appear on stage. One of the booklets developed by the Project staff deals with "sounds and situations"--has exciting episodes like a street accident, breaking and entry, travel through a haunted castle.

There are what is called "listening Books"--tapes graded into 5 versions for different ability levels, translations of English stories. As an informant put it, "This way the teacher can conserve her voice!" (3/27/74 Field Notes). A terrific body of language is thus learned unconsciously. The "Topsy and Tommy" series, published by Blackie and prepared by Jean and Gareth Adams, is used in the project, the cost of the booklet and two tapes to go with it being 10 p (25¢). The "Listening Books" are a very important adjunct to the program: everything in the tapes is printed--for the teacher to check out.

Abstract paintings and living pictures are also used, e.g., the booklet "Faces of Happiness," which is designed to go with the children in a graded manner from a year to another. "You ask the children to describe the face of an old lady or something else and you can even see the linguistic cogs in their heads turning! Welsh is taught not as a subject but used as a medium of instruction" (3/27/74 Field Notes). There is an emphasis on graded work regarding vocabulary. This is essentially a conversational course; flash cards can be used at the age of 4 with no ill effect--actually children this way lose their inhibition of reading. The work in the junior school is more formal.

In order that children in infants school (ages 5-7) may use Welsh on the playground, they are taught some of the games in the classroom. "There is, however, no 'Welsh Not' (laughter)!....It is not a Welsh project but a bilingual project" (3/27/74 Field Notes).

To strengthen their experiences in the new language, children in this project go to camp together--"living a whole week in Welsh, speaking to the postman and the butcher in Welsh....A child, like an adult, would tend to realize, would perhaps say to himself, 'The limit of my world is the limit of my language'" (3/27/74 Field Notes).

The project is devising standardized tests for assessment. There will be control schools paired with the experimental ones--rural, Anglicized, rich suburban, working class, etc. There is a research design to test whether, for example, children would in any way suffer, academically or otherwise, as a result of the bilingual program. The final report will be ready in late 1975. Thereafter, a general dissemination process is recommended.

"There is not a country in the world without a bilingual problem or situation," as an informant has asserted (3/27/74 Field Notes). Could that be so? Perhaps countries that are not without a "bilingual problem or situation" are rare indeed. For Wales at any rate, such undertakings as this Bilingual Project help to keep infants schools viable so as to ensure continuation of Welsh-speaking and Welshness. Welsh-speaking children are being created through bilingual projects in English-medium schools and through Welsh-medium ones.

We have reviewed this Bilingual Project in some detail because, *inter alia*, of the increasing interest in the U.S. in bilingual projects especially since 1965. There are, for example, French-English bilingual projects in New England, e.g., in Greenville, New Hampshire, and in several communities of the St. John Valley in Maine (Khleif, 1973). There are also Spanish-English (Campbell, 1973) and Navajo-English (Willink, 1973) bilingual projects in the Southwest carried out in public schools (what the British call "state schools"). Some ethnic groups, e.g., Jews and Greeks, engage in bilingual education under religious auspices, usually as an after-school or week-end type of supplement to the daily public schooling of their children, but at times as part of a privately established K-12 Hebrew or Hellenic system of education, a system extending to a religio-ethnic undergraduate college or serminary.

We will focus on the (d) to (i) support units mentioned earlier.

(D) Welsh Language Research Unit, University College, Cardiff

This research unit is engaged in what may be termed "urgent anthropology," that is, recording the various dialects of Wales and remnants of dialects, and constructing a linguistic atlas for Wales. It is a conserving and mapping-out effort in the face of rapid Anglicization of some of the strongholds of the Welsh language and the removal of others, for example through expropriation or the flooding of valleys for dam construction. The staff of the Welsh Language Research Unit serve on committees concerned with Welsh-medium education and are consulted on issues related to the development and structure of the language. They have, for example, prepared lists of terms aimed at drawing upon the linguistic resources of Welsh for modern technological requirement, e.g., for science, psychology, even the study of linguistics itself in Welsh.

(E) English and Welsh History Project, Glamorgan College of Education, Barry, Glamorgan

This is a Schools Council project, i.e., supported by a grant from the Schools Council for Wales, the full title of which is "An Integrated Course in English-Welsh History in the Secondary Schools of Wales, Age 11 to 14." The title of the project implies that English and Welsh history are not that integrated in schools, that perhaps the current state of affairs is that Welsh history is more often thought of, or taught, as a supplement to English history in the state schools of Wales, schools that are governed by examination systems that tend to extol English history. Be that as it may, the project is known among some informants as the "Schools Council Project on History Textbooks," i.e., Welsh history textbooks, which emphasizes an effort to correct a neglect, to bring Welsh history into a more equitable balance with English history. The project is a three-year one, concerned with developing materials for use by teachers and pupils in 20 secondary schools in Wales (in Wales those who attend school throughout the American equivalent of a grade 12 of high school are generally called "pupils" not students, "students" being more often reserved for university students), and with evaluation of the progress of pupils in the project through examinations and questionnaires. Unfortunately from a methodological point of view, the control group matched with each experimental one is based in the same school, which may create a Hawthorne Effect and "contaminate" the results through a spill-over of knowledge or attitudes from the experimental to the control group within the same building. The project is aimed at what is in American terms a junior high school level; what is important about it for us is its approach and materials more than its experimental design or evaluation methodology.

Although the project is aimed at developing materials in English rather than Welsh, its relevance to Welsh-medium schooling is that it attempts to rectify the historical neglect of certain aspects of Welsh history in the schools of Wales and to bring out historical facts and newer interpretations of Welsh history into more prominence. Any attempt to do that, whether in English or Welsh, is commendable and results in use of materials in both English-medium as well as Welsh-medium (i.e., bilingual) schools, but the implications for a sense of Welshness and revitalization of identity through a sense of history are especially important for the Ysgolion Cymraeg, the schools for Welshness, the Welsh-medium schools.

By March, 1974, the history project had developed the following mimeographed materials (texts incorporating maps and charts) as units for use in schools (the sub-units directly focused on Welsh history are preceded by "*"):

1. "How Roman Britain Became England and Wales"
    - (a) Teacher's Note and Book-list.
    - (b) Pupil's Introduction.
    - (c) Roman Withdrawal and Barbarian Invasion.
    - (d) Anglo-Saxon England.
    - *(e) Wales--Unconquered but Divided.
2. "The Vikings"
    - (a) Teacher's Note and Book-list.
    - (b) Pupil's Introduction: Who Were the Vikings?
    - (c) Viking Ships and Seamen.

- (d) The Voyages of Discovery and Trade.
- (e) Viking Warriors.
- *(f) Viking Raids on England and Wales.
- (g) The Influence of the Norsemen.

3. "Towns during the Middle Ages"
   - (a) Short Introduction.
   - *(b) Welsh Towns and Charters.
   - (c) Town Life and Town Government.
   - (d) Markets and Fairs.
   - (e) Guilds.
   - (f) The Edwardian Boroughs of Wales.

4. "Religion in the Sixteenth Century"
   - (a) Teacher's Note.
   - (b) The Church in the Early Sixteenth Century.
   - (c) The Protestant Reformation in Europe.
   - (d) Church and State in England: The "Break with Rome."
   - (e) Dissolution of the Monasteries: Shrine-Destruction; Confiscation and Pillage of Church Goods.
   - (f) Conflicts about Religious Belief: Persecution and Martyrdom.
   - *(g) The Scriptures in Welsh.
   - (h) Elizabethan Catholicism.
   - (i) The Puritan Protest.
   - (j) Work Sheets.

5. "Poverty and Vagabondage: 1485-1640"
   - (a) Teacher's Note and Book-list.
   - (b) Pupil's Introduction.
   - (c) The Nature and Causes of Poverty.
   - (d) Beggars and Vagabonds.
   - (e) The Relief of Poverty.

6. "Canals"
   - (a) Introduction.
   - (b) Section 1: Why Canals?
   - (c) Section 2: Building Canals.

(d) Section 3: Canal Boats.

(e) Section 4: The End of Canals--But Have They a Future?

(f) Maps for Section 1:

- (1) The Ellesmere Canal.
- *(2) The Glamorganshire Canal.
- (3) Canals of the West Midlands.
- *(4) The Canals of South Wales.

(g) Extracts for Section 1:

- *(1) When the Welsh Canals Were Built.
- *(2) Roads--Pre-turnpike Trusts
- *(3) a Need for Montgomeryshire Canal.
  - b Thomas Telford's Views on the Benefits Derived from Canals.
- (4) a The Ellesmere Canal.
  - *b Brecon and Abergavenny Canal Poster.
- *(5) Merthyr Tydfil
- (6) How Canals Benefitted Certain Areas

(h) etc. (Illustrations, Maps, and Extracts for Sections 2-4--see above--not reproduced here).

We have reproduced the titles of all the 6 units and sub-units with the exception of the rest of sub-units dealing with Sections 2-4 of No. 6--"Building Canals"; "Canal Boats"; and the "End of Canals." This gives the American reader an illustration of what some of the 11-14 year olds in Wales study in history lessons in school.

The following are some illustrations of the new emphasis on Welsh history in, for example, the first unit, "How Roman Britain Became England and Wales":

1. "....The Romans came here to add Britain to their Empire, to rule over the Britons not to drive them out....(p. 2, emphasis added)--i.e., unlike the Anglo-Saxons later on!

2. Map 2, page 6, entitled "Barbarian Invasions of Britain" lists the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes with appropriate arrows and dates pointing to their invasions. We point this out as an interesting cross-cultural item, a datum, because in a number of American history textbooks, the "Barbarians" mentioned are the "German Barbarians," i.e., only Goths, Visigoths, Vandals and others on the Continent; Anglo-Saxons are conveniently omitted from the category of "Barbarians"! Some books, for example, speak of the "Settlement of Anglo-Saxons in Britain" rather than include them as part and parcel of similar "Barbarians." Moreover, in American history texts the Jutes are only mentioned in passing; the focus is only on Anglo-Saxons. What happened to the Jutes as ancestors, prithee? They seem not to be part of American consciousness of Anglo-Saxonism, of the nineteenth century ideology developed to extol "Manifest Destiny" west of the Alleghenies and eventually beyond the Pacific. Even in Britain itself, the 5th and 6th century Angles-Saxons-and-Jutes are called "Barbarians."
3. Map 3, page 18, entitled "The Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms" shows three interesting designations: "Cumbria," "North Wales," and "West Wales." "Cumbria" is a corruption of the Celtic or Welsh word for the "Welsh" themselves, which indicates that perhaps Welsh was spoken at one time as far north as the Strathclyde

in Scotland. "North Wales" is the modern Wales; "West Wales," however, is the modern Devon and part of Cornwall, which is indicative of the fact that the Anglo-Saxons recognized that Celtic or a Welsh-type language was spoken there. Indeed, Cornish, a Celtic language very close to Welsh continued to be spoken in Cornwall until the 18th century--a language currently revived by the "Mebion Kernow" or Cornish Language Society (literally "Sons of Cornwall"). In other words, the map is indicative of a larger historical Wales and Welsh-type Celtism than is usually thought of, an emphasis on a Brythonic Britain, or England as only one part carved out of Brythonic Britain.

4. Map 4, page 24, entitled "The Kingdoms of Wales" shows the ancient Welsh divisions that have been, as of April 1, 1974, restored as names for the reorganized and enlarged county boundaries in Wales: Gwynedd, Powys, etc. The map conveys a sense of historical continuity, of Welshness.
5. The "Night of the Long Knives"--an act of Saxon treachery involving the concealment of daggers to butcher the non-suspecting Britons, or "Welsh" as the Saxons called them, at a peace parley--is recounted on pages 11-12. The myth is part of Welshmen's consciousness of Saxons as untrustworthy interlopers. The English, of course, also have uncomplimentary stereotypes of the Welsh, but the

point is that history can be defined as "official mythology," a set of quite inaccurate symbolisms. Like a sense of Welshness, a sense of Englishness depends on out-groups.

6. The Welsh are proud of their Roman connections (in Britain it seems, people rather proudly date their history with reference to famous conquerors--the English, for example, with regard to 1066, the Norman Invasion). On page 14 of this unit, there are two contrasting views of the Romans--one a poem by the famous Welsh playwright, Saunders Lewis, dramatically entitled "The Eagles Depart," concerning the withdrawal of the Romans from the City of Bath, Aquae Sulis (i.e., Healing Waters or Spa dedicated to the Goddess Sul Minerva); the other a translation of an Anglo-Saxon comment on the Saxon devastation of the city, simply entitled "The Ruin." History is a matter of allegiance, of evocation of the past to nourish the present.

7. There are two examples of what may be termed "correction of history":

   (a) A quotation (p. 16) concerning "Anglo-Saxon England":

   "Several points must be made clear at the start: the Anglo-Saxons did not suddenly 'drive out' the Welsh, their conquest of territory which was to become English took

> over 200 years; although the Anglo-Saxon advance to the west drove back the Britons and split up the lands which they still held, their own (Anglo-Saxon) Kingdoms remained disunited for centuries just as did the Kingdoms of what we now call Wales...." (emphasis added).

Welsh history has never been written from a Welsh point of view until perhaps this past decade, as several informants have contended. On correction of the impression that the English merely landed and speedily drove out the Britons to what is now called Wales, an impression that seems to be fostered by pro-English historians, see also Wade-Evans (1950: 22-34) and Gwynfor Evans (1974:63-68), the latter account directly entitled "Myth of English Expulsion of the Welsh." In the same way that newly independent African nations have deliberately begun a conscious effort to decolonize their history, in the same way that Israeli Jews have had to reinterpret what seemed to their heroically-minded and militarily-inclined school children a somewhat acquiescent Warsaw Ghetto under German occupation, so have the Welsh had to rewrite history to redress errors and "set the record straight" especially for the new generation. History is written by the conqueror ("Vae Victis") until new generations of the conquered get to revise it.

(b) Another quotation (p. 22) concerns the historical disunity of Wales in face of the Saxon foe:

> "It is time to look in a little more detail at what happened within the part of Britain which we now know as Wales--the land to the west of Offa's Dyke. We must first face the fact that, despite its small size (compared with Anglo-Saxon England), it remained disunited. Thus independence was balanced by disunity. Why was this so? Two main reasons have been suggested: first, the facts of geography; secondly, the Welsh law of inheritance (sometimes called 'gavelkind') which decreed that on the death of a ruler his land should be shared among his sons."

Disunity, a weakness, has to be accounted for. A sense of Welshness needs to be fostered through combing history for "instances of success" in addition to interpreting failure. This has been a noticeable practice in all newly independent nations after 1945.

8. Welsh heroes are emphasized (p. 23), e.g., Rhodri Mawr (844-878) who resisted the Norse invasion of Wales, Hywel Dda (905-1050) the law-giver, Gruffydd ap Llywelyn (1039-1063) who appears in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as an English fighter in the same

sense that Andrew Jackson is known in American history books as an "Indian fighter." Some Welsh schools, naturally enough, are named after these heroes, but especially after the most famous of them all, Glyn Dŵr (Owen Glendower).

9. We have chosen the preceding illustrations as instances of how Welsh history can nourish a sense of Welshness. What we would like to emphasize is that these materials give the pupil a much wider view than just Welsh history--it is a view not of Welsh history in isolation but of Welsh history in a larger perspective, that of the British Isles. Indeed, there are also excellent examples to nourish a sense of Englishness and a sense of Britishness through these materials, but we have emphasized some of the points about Welsh history merely to suggest that unless a sort of equal treatment, of even-handedness, is detected through these materials--which it is--a sense of Britishness cannot be directly nourished. To feel British, the Welsh child needs perhaps to feel equitably Welsh first, which is what the materials developed by this project seem to communicate.

We can say briefly that the remaining support units are part of the institutional structure to nourish a sense of Welshness and to serve Welsh schools, though at times indirectly so: the Welsh Dialects Research Project, Welsh Folk Museum, St.

Fagan's, Cardiff; Education Projects, Welsh National Museum, Cardiff; Welsh National Library, Aberystwyth; and Salisbury Welsh Library, Cardiff.

## THE ISSUE OF BILINGUALISM

Along with the effort to establish Welsh-medium schools, where Welsh is not merely a subject but a vehicle for instruction, there has been a debate in Wales concerning the efficacy and advisability of bilingualism. This debate has political, social, and economic overtones; it is concerned with "getting on," with defining oneself as fully Welsh because of the gift of language, with being able to achieve in a Welsh-medium school what can be achieved in an English-medium one, and then some more.

Bilingualism has economic, political, and social-psychological aspects; in other words, it has what is commonly called "educational" aspects. The economic factor in bilingualism in Wales was perhaps first stated by Dr. O. O. Roberts of Bangor back in 1847, a factor still strongly operative today:

> Instruction in the English language....would confer upon the poor inhabitants of Wales benefits that no one can too highly estimate (quoted in the H.M.S.O. publication, Education in Wales: 1847-1947, 1948:24).

The political aspect of Welsh-English bilingualism was stated by Prof. Jac L. Williams in terms perhaps emotionally truer of the Wales of 1962 than the Wales of 1975:

> The first fact we have to accept is that there is only one second language in the Welsh system of education today, the Welsh language. The English language is the basic language in the system, the

> only language that is absolutely necessary for proceeding through the Welsh educational machine, the only language about which parents in general get really worried if it is neglected in our schools, particularly in Welsh-speaking areas where the English language is still inclined to be associated with security and educational advancement and the Welsh language too often associated with backwardness, Victorian peasant values, a dying culture and a withered religion. Yet the Welsh language is still with us and is likely to remain with us at least until we are at the turn of another century (1962:17).

The objective situation may not have qualitatively changed much since 1962, but Saunders Lewis's "Tyngyd yr Iaith" of February 13, 1962 and the activities of the Cymdeithas since that time have done much to change the tone in which a pro-Welsh Welsh-speaker asserts his right to have the political oppression of his language modified. The spread of Ysgolion Cymraeg has also helped to give a tone of confidence, rather than a bit of hidden self-flagellation, to the very terms used by a pro-Welsh Welshman to conceptualize the issue of the language. But this is a matter of tone rather than of content.

Perhaps the politics of bilingualism in Wales can best be exemplified by an account written in French by a Welsh-speaking Breton, Armand Le Calvez, whose book, Un Cas de Bilinguisme: Le Pays de Galles--Histoire, Littérature, Enseignement represents one of the few accounts on the subject (tbe French of the following excerpt is so close to English that no translation is necessary. In a chapter dealing with the Gittins Report on primary education in Wales, a chapter entitled "Une Nouvelle Politique Linguistique," Le Calvez has summarized into French the following episode that was written about several times in the Welsh newspaper, "*Y Faner*" ("The Banner"):

> En 1958, dix familles de Wrexham, appuyées pa la municipalité, ont réclamé une école où le gallois serait facultatif en arguant du précédent des écoles galloises nouvelles. L'autorité scolaire du comté de Denbigh a rejeté leur demande: les mécontents avaient oublié que *dans les écoles galloises l'anglais est obligatoire*! (1970:139, emphasis added).

One can understand the irony of this response for Le Calvez himself, for in the schools of Brittany the Breton language is proscribed--only French is "obligatoire."

In his "Conclusion," Le Calvez quotes a Welshman as saying (a translation from an account in *Y Faner* of 21 March 1968): "Une nation sans langue est une nation pauvre, et la langue ne devrait pas être un jouet entre les mains des politiciens."

"Language problems are both symptom and cause of inter-communal tension and unrest in many countries" (Le Page, 1969:119). In somewhat the same way that skin color in the U.S.A. is used as a *visibility* reference for discriminating against Blacks, so is a Southern accent used as an *audibility* reference for emotionally treating Southern Whites as a quasi-minority by Northerners. In this context it can be said that "....like skin *colour*, language is an easily identified badge for those who wish to take issue with a different group and thus it provides them with a rallying sign even for contests which are basically not those of language or race" (Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Ottawa, Book I, 1968: Introduction--quoted in Pill, 1970:148). This may lead a resurgent intelligentsia, a new middle-class of pro-Welsh Welsh-speakers to claim a certain "spiritual superiority" for speaking the traditional language, the language associated with national identity. One of the concomitant social-psychological issues in this regard has been mentioned by Roland Mathias: it is the case of "enthusiasts for Welsh, who learn the language, become more fervent in its interests than those who have always spoken it and....proceed to exemplify a kind of intransigent Welshness, the main point of which, sub-consciously, is to emphasise their own initiative and personal virtue" (1973:58).

The issue of bilingualism in a country is usually whether to teach the less prestigious language and to what extent, for there is no question about teaching the more prestigious language in school and teaching it extensively, that is, making it a medium of instruction. In other words, the issue of bilingualism in its group manifestation is an issue of dominance, of power, of prestige.

In a bilingual contest, Welsh in Wales in relation to English lacks the prestige of Swedish in Finland (spoken only by about 10% of the population) and of French in Switzerland (spoken only by about 18%). In schooling situations where an ambiance of respect exists for a second language, it usually can be taught successfully, e.g., in the case of five-year-old English-speaking monoglots learning Welsh, as reported by

Dodson, et al., and cited by Cazden (1973:137-138). More importantly, it has been found that the ethnic prestige of the group taught is of crucial importance in the success or failure of teaching them a second language: Yankee Anglos learn standard French even better than Yankee Francos in a bilingual school in Greenville, New Hampshire (Khleif, 1973); monolingual English children in a French school in Montreal learn French successfully and achieve dramatically in French, English, and math (Lambert, et al.--cited by Cazden, 1973:128-139); however, Chicanos (Mexican-Americans), Puerto Ricans, and Navajos--non-dominant groups taught a dominant language--often fail to learn it well. In the case of the latter, part of "non-White" Americans, the school as a whole is quite often a coercive and humiliating institution, not just the medium of instruction (cf. Wax, et al., 1965).

In national bilingual situations, language may be used as a projective technique for uncovering stereotypes associated with ethnic dominance and subordination; dialect variations elicit stereotyped impressions. For example, in a "matched-guise" technique--whereby, unbeknownst to listeners to tape recordings it is the same bilingual persons who in one instance read a standard passage in English; in another, in French--English-Canadian speakers, the listeners, favored speakers in English-Canadian, rather than French-Canadian, guises. They thought of speakers in English-Canadian guises as more intelligent, more ambitious, more dependable, taller, better looking, kinder, and having more character than when the same speakers were in their French-Canadian guises! On the other hand, a comparable group of listeners composed of French-Canadian speakers--and this is the rub--made similar judgments, except that they thought speakers in their English-Canadian guises as less kind and in their French-Canadian guises as more religious. In other words, French-Canadian listeners thought of French-Canadians as being relatively second-rate people (Lambert, *et al*., 1960 and 1966--cited in Robinson, 1972:98-99, and in Christophersen, 1973:84-85; also Lambert, 1967:93-95).

Recently, the Lambert experiment was repeated in Cardiff with certain modifications (Bourhis and Giles, 1974). Unbeknownst to listeners, the same two male speakers read passages in each of the following guises: in Welsh, in English with a south Welsh accent, and in English with a standard BBC accent. The listeners, the judges who were to evaluate the personalities of various Welshmen they would hear on tape, were three groups of adult Welshmen: 20 who were learning Welsh, 20 bilinguals, and 20 who spoke only English and were not learning Welsh. In linking bilingualism, social standing, and identity, the authors summarize and comment on the findings as follows:

> We were surprised to find no divergence at all among the three groups of Welshmen in how they rated the speakers. All thought well of the Welsh-speaking Welshmen on most traits. And on many scales, such as trustworthiness, friendliness, and sociability, the mere possession of a Welsh accent was seen as favourably as speaking the Welsh language itself. However, the Welsh speakers on tape were rated the most "nationalistic" and "patriotic" of all.

> On the scale, "How much I'd like to be like the speaker," all these Welshmen, regardless of their own linguistic skills, would prefer to attain the image of a Welsh speaker, rather than to model themselves after the supposedly high-prestige BBC-like speaker. Indeed, when the Welshman with the BBC accent was rated highly it was on traits like conservatism, snobbishness, and arrogance.
>
> ....The present findings do ....suggest that a re-evaluation in identity has occurred in Wales (at least in the south east), with the result that the Welsh now appear to have a very positive self-identity. The Welsh language is then the most important "dimension" of Welsh ethnic identity and of this re-evaluation. To be fully "Welsh" one needs at least to be involved in learning the language (Bourhis and Giles, 1974:16, emphasis added).

The findings of the Bourhis and Giles study are extremely interesting, but only suggestive. One needs to find out whether such findings are true of people in other parts of Wales and use quite large samples. In addition, one would surmise that as in the Lambert experiment, the Bourhis and Giles respondents were composed exclusively of college students, which calls for inclusion of a variety of occupational groups or social classes in future replication.

How have parents in Wales tended to react towards bilingual instruction, i.e., the use of Welsh as a medium of teaching and learning or the support of Welsh as a second language on a more extensive scale? It seems that, first and foremost, most parents have wanted the English of their children not to suffer under any circumstances and that for some parents at least, if that can be guaranteed, then their children can attend Welsh-medium schools. Most working-class parents still favor English-medium schools; some middle-class parents favor Welsh-medium ones.

Frankenberg mentions that when a "Welsh School" was proposed in 1954 for a village he was studying near Port Talbot in the southern industrialized part of Wales, the discussion among parents raged "not about the principle but about whether pupils at a Welsh School stood as good a chance of successfully surmounting the next stage on the ladder to higher education--the so-called eleven-plus selection test for the grammar school" (1966:140), that although the village inhabitants "shared the feeling that in the Welsh language they had a valuable possession which ought to be preserved and passed on to their children" (1966:138), by the time the Welsh School opened only 12 out of the 95 available primary school children went to it, its enrollment up to 58 during the first year being made up of children from neighboring villages. "The parents who did send their children included a high proportion of people in the higher-status occupations" (1966:140). Opponents of the school said their children could learn Welsh at home or at Sunday School; English was necessary to "get on."

As Roisin Pill points out, whereas the Gittins Committee recommended the effective teaching of Welsh as a first or second language in all schools and the gradual introduction of Welsh as a medium of instruction, the majority of parents in Gittins's own sample of primary-school parents did not want Welsh as the medium of instruction at the secondary-school level. This was 90% among English-speaking, 60% among Welsh-speaking, parents in that 1966 sample (Pill, 1970:143).

It should be added that with the success of the Welsh-medium secondary schools especially in the last ten years, the preceding parental objection has been displaced towards the college level. Some parents think that although their children should have a Welsh-based education at the secondary-school level, their higher education should be--and so far can only be, unless they want to become school teachers--in English. Other parents are lobbying for a full-fledged Welsh-medium college.

The mere fact that Welsh parents are themselves Welsh-speakers does not of course mean that they would automatically support Welsh-medium schools. As Iorwerth Morgan has found out, in the Maesteg Welsh School catchment area (i.e., attendance district) located in Anglicized South Wales, 70% of children who had at least one parent who could speak Welsh, and 52% of children whose both parents spoke Welsh, attended an English-medium school (I. W. Morgan, 1969:85, Table 7--cited in Pill, 1970:145). The importance of Morgan's study is that it is not sufficient that parents speak Welsh in order to support a Welsh-medium school but that it is necessary that they be middle class: the bulk of the support of the 12 Welsh-medium schools in Glamorgan in 1965 came from middle-class parents (I. W. Morgan, 1969:passim; 3/28/1974 Field Notes).

In Wales, parents can choose to send their children to an English-medium or a Welsh-medium school. In such bilingual countries as Belgium, South Africa (the White sector), and Canada, parents in the majority of cases, in the overall pattern, have no right to choose the language of instruction for their children. In Belgium with its two languages of Dutch and French, where the overall population ratio of Flemish to Walloons is 60 to 40 percent, "the law states that the mother tongue or the ordinary language of the child will determine the school he will attend. To ensure that the law is enforced, the child must present a formal declaration of his language, certified by two inspectors, before he can enroll at a school. These regulations are designed to preserve the Dutch language by ending the not unusual practice of Flemish parents sending their children to French schools" (Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Ottawa, 1968, Book II--quoted in Pill, 1970: 149).

In South Africa, where the Dutch-speaking Afrikaaners constitute about 60% of the White population, three out of the four provinces of that country stipulate by law that the language of instruction be determined by the mother tongue of the child; only Natal allows the parents to choose between Afrikaans and English. "The present policy also favours single-medium schools, where the cultural as well as the linguistic identity of the child is supported, as opposed to schools where each student receives some of his instruction in English and some in Afrikaans, or schools where each group is taught through the medium of its own language but other school activities are conducted in either language or both (Pill, 1970:149).

In Canada, the French of Quebec have recently succeeded in passing a law that says that all non English-speaking immigrants who settle in Quebec have to send their children to French-medium schools, not to English-medium ones as the greatest majority of them have so far opted. Children of French parents as well as children of immigrants whose home language is not English can still attend an English-medium school if they pass an entrance test. Because of the low-quality type of English generally taught in French schools in Quebec, not many French Canadian children avail themselves of the test option for attendance of schools where English is the medium of instruction (8/24/74 Field Notes).

In what way does bilingualism affect intelligence (as measured by an IQ test) or academic achievement (as measured by grades but especially by standardized achievement tests)? Do bilingual children tend to be of higher or lower IQ's or score better or worse on standardized tests than monolingual children? Interpretation of the answers to such questions is a highly political matter, for regardless of what the answer might be, it leads some people to feel proud of what they supposedly are and condemn the other side in "I told you so" fashion. In other words, the results of any attempt to answer such questions actually and potentially are usable for exultation as well as defamation, a matter quite similar to the controversy about the relation between the IQ and race in the U.S.A. and Britain (A. Jensen, L. Shockley, R. Herrnstein, and others in the U.S.A.; H. J. Eysenck and others in Britain). In both cases, investigators have tended to mean different things by their basic variables or make a limited laboratory or testing procedure stand for all that people mean in everyday life by a given key variable such as intelligence, not to mention race or bilingualism. Be that as it may, we would like to report briefly on some of the attempts to answer the question about the relationship between bilingualism and what children spend a good deal of their life trying to do--getting through school. This can be summarized as follows:

1. With regard to the relation between bilingualism and the IQ as measured by a non-verbal intelligence test for primary-school children, it is basically a question of occupational class (the chief measure of social class) rather than a question of monolingualism or bilingualism (W. R. Jones, 1968:19, 21). It is social class that accounts for the variance, not linguistic grouping.

2. In some studies dealing with the effect of bilingualism on school performance, it has been found that the age and sex of pupils are of crucial importance in comparing monoglots and bilinguals. At times, monoglot children tend to score better on tests of a linguistic nature, e.g., having to do with performance in English as a school subject, than bilingual children--but not appreciably better on tests dealing with numerical or mathematical skills (cf. W. R. Jones, 1969 regarding a 1960 survey; Pill, 1970:129). Unfortunately, neither parental occupation in these studies was statistically controlled nor what was meant by bilingualism in rural vs. urban settings was elucidated. (In addition, some of the tests were given in

English because no Welsh version was available for those whose Welsh was better than their English--i.e., Welsh-speakers were at a handicap; the purpose was that they prove themselves in English!) As some informants have pointed out, what was compared in these studies were sons and daughters of barristers and stock-brokers in Anglicized areas (representing English monoglotism) with sons and daughters of farmers and postmen in rural Wales (made to represent bilingualism). More importantly perhaps, it is not so much the tight research design or goodness of the statistics used or the specific findings per se but the image people have of the findings that counts; also the political use thereof, e.g., in expanding or contracting Welsh-medium education, in persuading or dissuading parents.

3. "Earlier studies of bilingualism and attainment have repeatedly found that verbal tests of ability discriminate against bilingual children. This may be overcome by the intelligent child of middle-class parents in an urban area but is more of a problem for the average, rural child from a manual home" (Pill, 1970:158-159).

4. In a study by Derrick Sharp, et al., dealing with attitudes and motivation for the learning of Welsh and English in Wales in 4 types of schools (three located in areas where according to the 1961 Census Welsh-speakers were 68-81%, 48-55%, and 3-16%, and the fourth being the bilingual or Welsh-medium schools which do not reflect the linguistic background of the areas in which they are located), it was found that the linguistic background of the school was not generally significant in attainment

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in English at the secondary-school level, that schools located in areas with 68-81% Welsh-speakers as well as bilingual or Welsh-medium schools compared favorably with schools in other areas, that Welsh-medium schools had the highest achievement (highest mean scores) in Welsh as first language and Welsh as second language (1973:45).

5. "....It would be unfair to ignore the possibility that the introduction of a second language even in favourable circumstances may be fraught with some disadvantages to some children" (E. G. Lewis, 1968:6). However, in a study carried out in the Somerville, New Jersey, Public Schools in the U.S. on the effect of introduction of a foreign language in elementary school on the later achievement of the pupils in high school, it was found that "in Somerville at best, systematic study of a foreign language from grade three through eight does not undermine the child's foundations in the basic or traditional learnings. He does not compete in high school classes....under any discernible handicap" (Somerville, New Jersey, Public Schools, _Evaluation of the Effect of Foreign Language Studies in the Elementary School upon Achievement in the High School_, 1962--quoted in E. G. Lewis, 1968:12). Such a study is suggestive of the fact that early introduction of a second language may not have an adverse effect on later achievement, but other studies are needed to make such a finding conclusive.

6. An overall conclusion can be cited:

> _It does not appear possible, on the research evidence available, to reach firm conclusions_

regarding the effects of bilingualism on general ability and attainment. Many surveys on bilingual children claim a reduced competence in general ability or in one or the other language....Some of these researches were carried out in Wales and produced significant differences between unilinguals and bilinguals in tests of reading comprehension and of language usage, the differences favouring the unilingual groups in English tests and the bilingual groups in Welsh tests, i.e., each group was superior in its home language. Some other studies report favourably on the effect of bilingualism....Studies of the latter kind appear to be in the minority. But several of the studies referred to can be criticized for failure to accomplish the extremely difficult task of isolating bilingualism as an experimental factor; furthermore, most of these studies were conducted on the attainment of children who, in accordance with language policies then operative, did not receive formal instruction in their second language until about the age of seven. Some studies....suggest that a temporary handicap in vocabulary resulted from the early acquisition of two languages, but this handicap did not function after the age of 12 or 13; from one inquiry carried out in Wales...., it appeared that by the age of 13-plus the English achievement of pupils with a predominantly Welsh background was very nearly equal to that normally expected of English children with an exclusively English background. Some of the more recent researches, in which factors such as social class appear to have been more or less adequately controlled, indicate that bilingualism is not necessarily a source of intellectual disadvantage.... (Schools Council Committee for Wales, Development of Bilingual Education in Wales, 1972:17-18, emphasis added).

(The references on which this overall conclusion is based, in the order of the ellipses above, are: (a) Saer, 1923; Darcy, 1946; W. R. Jones and W.A.C. Stewart, 1951; E. R. Morgan, 1955; W. R. Jones, *et al*., 1957; W. R. Jones, 1960; Macnamara, 1966; (b) Arsenian, 1937; Malherbe, 1946; (c) Arsenian, 1937; Spoerl, 1944; (d) Merioneth Local Education Authority, 1961; and (e) W. R. Jones, 1966.)

7. Other comments further highlight certain aspects of the preceding key conclusion:

(a) *Importance of the context in which bilingualism occurs*

> "Many studies of bilingualism and intelligence or of bilingualism and school achievement have been conducted within the context of bilingualism without diglossia, often without sufficient understanding on the part of investigators that this was *but one of several possible contexts for the study of bilingualism*. As a result, many of the purported 'disadvantages' of bilingualism have been falsely generalized to the phenomenon at large rather than related to the absence or presence of social patterns which reach substantially beyond bilingualism...."(Fishman, 1967: 35, emphasis added).

Lack of awareness of the "complexity of language functioning and the complexity of the social settings in which language is employed"--two themes that are crucial for the social-psychological study of bilingualism--have led to unwarranted generalization as well as contradiction between findings (Macnamara, 1967a:75).

As Prof. Jac L. Williams of Aberystwyth, one of the foremost proponents of bilingual education in Wales, summarized the issues to Welsh parents:

> "Until fairly recently doubts were often expressed about the effect of a bilingual education on child development. Some even thought that it was harmful and detrimental to the child's intellectual development. Recent experience and research studies have removed such doubts....It is well known that the examination results of bilingual secondary schools compare very favourably....with the examination results of secondary schools where English is the sole medium of instruction and where the national language (Welsh) is not given any higher status than that accorded to foreign languages such as French or German" (Meithrin, Bulletin of the Welsh Nursery School Movement, No. 4, Easter 1973 issue, page 5).

The lack of firm conclusions and the contradictory nature of the findings that have tried to link bilingualism and school achievement have been artifacts of the research involved in mere correlation between an imprecise definition, or a loose definition of bilingualism out of context, and some standardized tests.

Is there anything positive, nevertheless, about correlation studies dealing with the so-called bilingualism and academic achievement? Perhaps there is, as Macnamara has pointed out: Most of such studies have dealt with bilinguals as a minority that could be compared with a monolingual majority; in such studies bilinguals are weaker than monolinguals, for it is the monolinguals' language which is the language of instruction; thus basically such studies deal with the "relationship between grasp of the language of instruction and attainment" (1967b:122, emphasis added).

(b) Importance of knowing and precisely defining in research studies what kind of bilingualism is being investigated

Those who first began the study of bilingualism seem to have been interested not so much in the phenomenon of bilingualism per se but in its supposed effect on school children's achievement and IQ. However, some recent studies have tried to explain bilingual functioning itself. For example, such studies have dealt with "problems such as the meaning and measurement of bilingualism, the amount of overlap in the linguistic systems of bilinguals, success and failure in keeping linguistic systems from getting mixed up, the ability to switch from one system to the other and the ability to translate" (Macnamara, 1967a:58).

We would like to highlight some of the issues involved in the study of bilingualism not only as a matter of schooling but also in its larger aspects as a matter of identity:

(1) Possession of a language is to a great extent possession of a culture; bilingualism is indicative of biculturalism, but not necessarily vice-versa. For example, pro-Welsh Welsh-speakers in Wales tend to be bilingual, having access to both Welsh and English writings or literature; on the other hand, English monoglots in Wales may or may not have access to Welsh literature even in translation, or may simply not desire to do so.

Bilingualism at times may be associated with dual group allegiance and the dilemmas thereof. In a study of French-Americans in Maine, New England, Wallace Lambert and his associates discovered that proficiency in the stronger language of bilinguals was closely associated with cultural allegiance. Yankee Francos who expressed distinct preference for Anglo rather than

Franco-American culture, downplayed the importance of knowing French, and tended to reject their own French background were more proficient in English than French. Those who had a strong preference for being identified as French had a better command of French than English. A third sub-group was ambivalent and apathetic about its own identity, expressing preference for certain features of general American--i.e., Anglo--culture and some features of Franco culture (Lambert, 1967:107-108).

Welsh contains expressions for differentiating cultural allegiance from mere knowledge of the language, e.g., _Cymraeg_ (Welsh in speech) vs. _Cymreig_ (Welsh in spirit); _Saesneg_ (English in speech) vs. _Saesnig_ (English in spirit). In other words, a person might be _Cymraeg_ in speech, but _Saesnig_ in spirit! Such terms express different degrees of Anglicization. The anti-Welsh Anglo-Welsh are known among their detractors as "Little Englishmen" or "Low-Powered Englishmen" (3/14/74 Field Notes).

(2) Bilingualism comes in different degrees. The degree of bilingualism and its association with cultural allegiance is of prime importance in ethnic and sociolinguistic studies. Which of the two languages is the dominant one in the life of the child obviously has consequences for schooling success or failure.

(3) It is rather difficult to give a comprehensive definition of bilingualism since the phenomenon is

linguistic-ethnic-political-social. Bloomfield (1935:56) defined bilingualism as "native-like control of two languages" (quoted in Christophersen, 1973:63). Since this is an imprecise definition (native-like control can range from mere speech to command of advanced literary works), linguists currently emphasize that the most important feature of bilingualism is the "habitual use of two languages" (Christophersen, 1973:63). In other words, the domain of use, the context of use, is of the essence in linking bilingualism with any other variables in research on schools or other institutions.

(4) For socio-political purposes, it is important to classify bilingualism into two kinds: "unilateral" and "reciprocal" (cf. E. G. Lewis, 1974:4). Bilingualism in Wales may be said to be "unilateral" rather than "reciprocal": It is the Welsh natives who learn, and have had to learn, English; English-speaking newcomers to Wales no longer learn Welsh--not in any appreciable number anyway. It is for this reason that bilingualism in Wales--especially since the Brad, the Blue Books of 1847, and the 1870 Education Act--has been, in the minds of many Welshmen, associated with a stigma of inferiority, with a "subject people" (to use a term the "Cymry-Cymraeg," the pro-Welsh Welsh, use) having to learn the language of their overlords and wanting to be identified with them.

In the 1960 H.M.S.O. Report, Bilingualism in

*Education: Report on an International Seminar Held at Aberystwyth, Wales, 20 August-2 September, 1960* there is a paper by E. G. Malherbe on bilingualism in South Africa which mentions, among other things, a proverb in Afrikaans (17th century Dutch) to the effect that the language of conquerors, when learned by the conquered, would turn them emotionally into slaves--a proverb and a historical context that unfortunately we cannot now cite accurately because of lack of access to that out-of-print publication. Be that as it may, the point is that bilingualism may be an involuntary one and may be associated with a historical memory of an officially "banned language."

(5) In addition, there is the matter of "coordinate" vs. "compound" bilingualism which some writers seem to make a lot out of, but which in essence is a convenient way of representing two "ideal types" (in Weber's sense of the term), or more simply, two extreme points on a continuum of gradations (cf. Christophersen, 1973:64). "Coordinate" bilingualism indicates that the two languages are kept in separate compartments, functioning independently of each other, and expressing two distinct ways of life. "Compound" bilingualism, on the other hand, indicates that the two languages mesh together and influence each other to the point where they almost become a compound language, rather than staying parallel languages, and that the two languages serve to express the same culture, e.g., in home bilingualism

(Christophersen, 1973:64). To put it differently, "coordinate" bilingualism is seen as a product of early bilingualism, an acquisition of the child of "a coordinate system of two languages, in which the link between mental processes and expression is the same in relation to the second language as it is to the first language or mother tongue..../In 'compound' bilingualism7, the mother tongue dominates the whole complex fabric of linguistic behaviour" (J. L. Williams, 1962:22).

It is thought that late, rather than early, bilingualism often leads to "interference," that is, "the use of elements from one language while speaking or writing another" (Mackey, 1965--quoted in Gumperz, 1967:50, and, for good measure, in Gumperz, 1969:437). In Wales, Welsh-speaking Welshmen and Welshwomen who became fluent in English only between the ages of 7 and 10 seem to like to stress the virtues of early bilingualism, of "coordinate" bilingualism, to guard against the problem of linguistic "interference" (11/6/73 Field Notes).

The study of "interference," however, can be a valuable aid in teaching Welsh or English as a second language. An H.M.S.O. publication entitled Welsh: A Programme of Research and Development, puts it this way:

> When two languages are being taught at the same time or to the same children, one language in its phonology, vocabulary and grammar must have some kind of effect upon similar levels of the other

language. An English-speaking child learning Welsh will hear the sounds of Welsh in terms of what he is accustomed to hear in English. Descriptions of the main areas of this kind of linguistic interference of English with Welsh are specially important. Knowledge of a precise nature of this kind would enable teachers to identify the main difficulties of children learning the second language and prepare them beforehand to encounter them or to avoid them. There are four stages which the child learning a second language goes through: there is the first stage in which his ability to hear some Welsh sounds is involved; secondaly, there is his ability to make the right movements of the tongue and of the lips to produce the new sounds which he has to acquire; then he has to learn to integrate the sounds into appropriate new patterns; and finally he has to learn to make these appropriate patterns, habitual and automatic. This is a highly complex situation and although children seem to get over the difficulties in time, knowledge about the interference of one language with the other at each of these stages would be of extreme value in refining methods of teaching (Schools Council Welsh Committee, Welsh: A Programme of Research and Development, 1967:39-40--a bilingual text reminiscent of the Loeb's series of Latin-English texts in classics, where the two languages are side by side, passage by passage).

The study of coordinate and compound bilingualism is part of the study of a larger socio-linguistic issue: code-switching and code repertoire (cf. Hymes, 1967:9-11).

(6) W. Penfield is often quoted in bilingual circles in Wales with reference to two points: (a) his publications concerning the seemingly limitless, or rather quite elastic, capacity of children to learn different

languages--a function of the cerebral cortex of the brain in the early years (cf. Penfield and Roberts, 1959); and (b) his own personal example of bringing up his own children to be, by the age of six, trilingual in English, German, and French (J. L. Williams, 1962:21-22).

At University College, Aberystwyth, the Department of Education (J. L. Williams, C. J. Dodson, D. James, and others) has been a pioneer in bilingual education, stressing especially the benefits of early bilingualism. (7) The argument in favor of a bilingual policy in schools as well as daily life in Wales, as advanced by pro-Welsh Welshmen, can be summarized in two words: "windows and roots." The two languages give the speaker two windows on the world rather than confine his vision to just one, that is, give him a wider frame of reference and a built-in comparative approach which is intellectually satisfying. Knowledge of the national language (Welsh) in addition to a world language (English) links the Welsh person with his national heritage, with his cultural identity, and with the world at large (cf. Pill, 1970:140).

The preceding view is by no means the prevalent one in Wales. In a long "Note of Reservation on the Recommendations to Establish a Fully Bilingual Primary Education in Wales," Professor D. C. Marsh--professor of social science at Nottingham University, England, a member of the Gittins Committee, and a formerly bilingual

Welshman--takes exception to the Gittins Report, dissociating himself from its main recommendations (Gittins Report, 1967:555-558). His dissent rests on three considerations:

a - The Gittins Report fails to show how the "Welsh way of life" is different from that of other societies, nor what the particular literary, artistic, or spiritual values of the Welsh way of life specifically are. In Professor Marsh's view, the assumed differences from other values and other ways of life cannot always be identified with the Welsh language (1967:556).

b - There is "a real gulf between spoken and literary Welsh"--something which does not lead to oral proficiency in the Welsh language and does not justify giving it a prominent place in primary education in Wales (1967:566).

c - "There is very little reliable evidence on the advantages and disadvantages of a bilingual education in which one of the languages is of world significance and the other a minority language. It would seem to me that the parents of young children in Wales now and in the future....are entitled to be given an assurance that the widespread introduction of Welsh will not in any way prejudice the future career prospects of their children outside Wales" (1967:557, emphasis added).

In a sense, all the 3,000 or so languages in the world--with the exception of English, French, German, Russian, Chinese, and Japanese--are "minority languages" in the two senses of the word "minority," that is, either are languages that are spoken by comparatively few people, say, less than 50 million, or are languages that are mainly pre-industrial, that is, with a long literary tradition perhaps, but lacking advanced technological vocabulary or the capacity to continue to keep up with advanced technical vocabulary (some languages do not have the extensive "spare parts" system of prefixes and suffixes that English, for example, has nor the capacity to use acronyms and abbreviations).

More importantly, however, the crux of Professor Marsh's argument is in point "c," above. What we have called "Welsh-medium" schools--which are actually dual-medium schools because some subjects are taught in Welsh, others in English, that is, are "bilingual" schools--have been a response to that point, for they have had to be doubly good as schools: the English they teach is on a high level, comparing favorably with the English taught in the best schools in England, and the Welsh taught has also been of a high standard (these are middle-class schools staffed by good teachers and learning-oriented pupils). In other words, these schools teach--in answer to Professor Marsh's question about the future career prospects of children--English to "get on" and, if we may use an Americanism, Welsh to "get with it" culturally.

The dual purpose of Welsh-medium or bilingual schools in Wales is well-expressed in a final chapter of a 1959 publication of the Ministry of Education, a chapter written by a group of Her Majesty's Inspectors in Wales:

> One of the central aims of Welsh schools must be to extend to Welsh children the benefits of association with England and its language and literature and of participation in its intellectual achievements and, at the same time, to maintain and nurture their respect for the best of their particular heritage (Primary Education, 1959:317, chapter entitled "The Special Problems of Wales").

We now turn our attention more fully to these schools.

## WELSH-MEDIUM SCHOOLS AS SCHOOLS FOR CULTURAL REGENERATION

In Wales, one hears key phrases repeated by pro-Welsh Welshmen and pro-Welsh Welshwomen. Some of these phrases are:

(a) "In the medium of....," especially "in the medium of Welsh." The payload of this phrase, the tone and the overtones carry a McLuhan sort of assertion: The medium (Welsh) is the message, and in its own right especially vice-versa (the message is Welsh).

(b) "To live a full life in Welsh." The connotation is that people who can do so are fortunate indeed, that a number of people feel being deprived because they cannot do so, that such people feel the yoke of English, its intrusion into their very existence. Implied in all this is that one needs to use one's native language for purposes of emotion and intellect, for all spheres of life, and that this is as natural--or should be as natural--as breathing. In Wales, not all people can breathe naturally this way; in Wales, they cannot "live a full life in Welsh," live their lives entirely in Welsh.

(c) "But Wales is a nation." What is meant by this is that Wales is not a mere region like Yorkshire or the Midlands, that it has unique characteristics which make it non-English and worthy of autonomy in its own affairs, that it is not a mere extension of London.

(d) "Brainwashed," i.e., historically brainwashed by the English. The context of the usage is exclusive to the issue of language and identity--"brainwashed" with reference to self-contempt and contempt for the native language, for Iaith (Welsh). The implied meaning is that the English have succeeded in making Welshmen hate themselves and their language and that respect for oneself can only start with restoring respect to the language--speaking it, teaching it, making it "official" in one's daily life. "Conditioned" and "conditioning" are also used as frequently to express the same idea.

(e) A super-arching phrase for all the preceding is "to get on," that is, the question of social mobility. Historically, the Welsh have been offered a drastic choice between acquisition of English to "move up in the world"--and thus at times becoming alien unto themselves and their own communities--and clinging to their native language at the expense of losing the ability to hold office (cf. the 1536 Act of Union) or "better" themselves. "Getting on" has meant leaving Wales physically or emotionally, at times even turning on Wales itself.

A seventeenth-century poet has described the Welsh brain-drain of his days, the act of leaving Wales leaderless, the break up of the traditional community, the trek to England:

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(This poem is quoted in J.L. Williams, 1968:40, but unfortunately is left untranslated. A somewhat literal and not too elegant a translation might be something like the following: Leaving the country life, like a wild lion and becoming a lawyer; And a land becomes leaderless; And a land without a leader happens; Because of legal confusion. N'est pas?)

What do the aforementioned "in the medium of," "to live a full life in Welsh," "but Wales is a nation," "brainwashed by the English," and "to get on" have to do with schooling and schools? A lot, it can be said. These key phrases are part of a universe of attributes, of a universe of discourse among Welshmen that indicates a sort of challenge-and-response process, an indication of a problem and of ways to solve it through the schools, the Welsh-medium schools. It is instructive that the first institution in Wales to be used to turn the fortunes of the Welsh language has been the school.

We quote what some informants have said in relation to these matters:

(a) "One must not forget 400 years of cultural conditioning of Welshmen to inferiority" (3/13/74 Field Notes).

(b) "Welshmen have been brainwashed for centuries to hate their own language and only have respect for English....the language of 'getting on'" (5/1/74 Field Notes).

(c) "....To become a civil servant, one had to get rid of his Welsh accent and behave like an Englishman" (said by a proudly Anglicized, anti-Welsh Welsh-speaker, 5/14/74 Field Notes).

(d) "In the 20's and 30's the way to get ahead was to lose your Welsh accent and become Anglicized....Slowly, the tide is turning. One Local Council in Caernarvonshire now answers the phone in Welsh: the Dwyfor Council....you know, Lloyd George was Lord Dwyfor; it is the name of a river....It's near Pwllheli. In Welsh it (Dwyfor Council) is Cyngor Dwyfor....Robyn Lewis, author of Second-Class Citizen, is chairman of the Dwyfor Council!....Why shouldn't a small country like ours have a say in the world? People feel that Wales counts as a unit in world affairs, that it should have a seat in the United Nations, that it has a contribution to make" (4/30/74 Field Notes).

(e) "We were enslaved by the conditioning we had received especially in the last 100 years....It is actually centuries of conditioning. We abandoned our native language....People wanted to get on. Education meant English education....Dr. Bobi Jones--he's at Aberystwyth, a lecturer in the Welsh Department, says that the fight for the language is the fight for self-respect....He has a theory--that we'll never win by teaching the pupils only, that we must get their parents to be bilingual" (5/2/74 Field Notes).

In an important sense, then, Welsh-medium schools are schools for self-assurance--against historical humiliation and feelings of inferiority and for building confidence in the pupil and self-respect. The Welsh-medium school is an academy for self-respect, a "finishing" school in that regard.

The historical memory of inferiority (the "ceaseless desire to please" as an informant characterized the historical docility of Welshmen) and the issues connected therewith, issues that have contributed to the establishment of Welsh-medium schools, can be gotten at through perusal of Welsh writings especially of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Examples follow:

(a) A book called The Citizen Reader, used in the Blaenau Ffestiniog School of 1892, written by H. O. Arnold-Forster, published in Cassell's Modern School Series, and having a preface by W. E. Forster after whom the 1870 Education Act is named, tells Welsh children to think of themselves essentially in terms of the British Empire: "And all of you ought to remember that the great nation to which you belong, and of which I hope you are all proud, is bigger, far bigger, than the two little islands that make up the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and that it extends everywhere where the English language is spoken by men who live under English law and under the English flag" (quoted in R. T. Jones, 1974:155, emphasis added). Within such worldwide framework and worldwide language, Wales and the Welsh do not stand much chance! It is an overwhelming "cultural conditioning."

(b) "We Welshmen must acknowledge the greatness of the English nation. They are a greater people than we are. They are so much greater that if we live among them before our mental character is fairly formed, we are crushed or absorbed" (Thomas Charles Edwards, Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, in his book Young Wales, 1896:139, quoted by R. T. Jones, 1974:161,emphasis added). Somehow to many Welshmen, "they" do not seem "so much greater" now, in the post-1945 period. At any rate, the Welsh school movement can be construed as an antidote to being "crushed or absorbed" into Englishness--or to use another expression, as an antidote to being "Englished out" of Welshness itself.

(c) Prior to 1945, and especially prior to 1914, the Empire, British Empire, was the context for whatever the rising Welsh intelligentsia thought or did. That highly assimilative intelligentsia connected its own fortunes with those of the Empire. As J. Vyrnwy Morgan put it in his book, A Study in Nationality (1912:150--quoted by R. T. Jones, 1974:165, emphasis added),

> There is national glory in store for Wales, not probably as a Welsh Wales, but as an English Wales; but the people must look for it in the lines of self-improvement. As to the direction that civilisation will take, that depends largely upon social factors, ethnical principles, and international influences; much also will depend upon the nation's receptive and reproductive capacity, and, above all, upon its willingness to learn and co-operate with the rest of the Empire.

It seems that what Vyrnwy Morgan called "ethnical principles" has in Britain itself caught up with the Englishman's and Anglicized Celt's sense of "civilisation," for "civilisation" was but the smoke-screen for the preoccupations of Empire. In Scotland and Wales, that "civilisation" is currently expressed through rising ethnicity, through an emphasis on a non-English identity.

(d) O. M. Edwards (1858-1920), an important *fin de siècle* intellectual figure in Wales as well as England, seemed to have been torn between two contrasting sentiments: service of Empire vs. preservation of Welshness. He bridged the two by making the latter serve the former. In his opinion, the function of the school was to prepare Welshmen for jobs in the Empire, that is, to enable them to compete with Irishmen, Scotsmen, and Englishmen pouring out of Britain to administer India and other "British" possessions. What interests us about him is not only that he, like all writers, was a product of his time, but also that he was one of the first people in Wales to see the importance of the school in combatting the sense of ethnic inferiority that Welsh children seemed to carry as a personal and collective burden, an inferiority that Welsh-medium schools, among other things, consciously want to eradicate. As O. M. Edwards said in 1900 (quoted by R. T. Jones, 1974: 158, emphasis added),

> We demand that two things should be given a prominent place in our schools--study of the history and literature of Wales, and nurturing the children's patriotism. It is treason against the progress of goodness to throw cold water on a child's ambition; it is cruelty to teach him to despise the Welsh life that has moulded his character.

Schools are important in imparting a sense of nationality, of ethnic identity. Obviously, the medium of that imparting, the language, is crucial in this respect--especially in what is considered to be a bilingual country, such as Wales.

There are two kinds of schools in Wales (as we mentioned earlier): (a) those in Welsh-speaking areas, and (b) those in Anglicized areas. The former are known as "natural Welsh schools" or "traditional Welsh schools"; the latter are known as "bilingual schools," "Welsh-medium schools," or simply "Welsh schools." "Natural Welsh" schools are called "natural" because Welsh is naturally spoken in the community; they are called "traditional Welsh schools" because they have been the predominant type of schools in Wales since the 1870 Education Act. The "natural Welsh" and "traditional Welsh" schools are English-medium schools, that is, they are, paradoxically, schools that neither use the historically "natural" nor "traditional" language of Wales as the chief medium of instruction (a few of them may have a Welsh stream within them, but it is not as important as the English stream). On the other hand, "bilingual" schools in Anglicized areas are called bilingual because they deliberately use, in addition to English, the heretofore neglected language of Wales--Welsh--as a medium of instruction. The same schools are called "Welsh-medium" schools because of their emphasis on the use of Welsh as the language of instruction in many subjects, something not done in Wales between 1870 and 1939. These "Welsh-medium" schools are also "English-medium," because they teach mathematics and science in English. They are also called "Welsh" schools because they emphasize the Welsh language and culture (they also teach English very well indeed). Of the three appellations for these schools in Anglicized areas, schools set up deliberately to emphasize the Welsh language, we have chosen "Welsh-medium schools" to refer to them. In other words, schools in Wales are classified according to their location as well as their predominant language of instruction.

There are no "Welsh-medium" schools in Anglesey, a predominantly Welsh-speaking part of Wales (sounds like Dr. Johnson's famous one-sentence treatise on snakes in Iceland, "There are no snakes in Iceland," but ours is meant to be a mere illustration). Traditionally, whatever was taught through the medium of Welsh in "natural Welsh schools" was Welsh itself and religious instruction, but that was all. Increasingly, however, "natural Welsh schools" through the influence of "Welsh-medium schools" are beginning to teach more subjects through the medium of Welsh. As an example, Anlwch School, a secondary school in Anglesey, advertised in April,1974 for a teacher to teach history through the medium of Welsh up to "O" level, which, among other things, is creating some new mobility avenues for teachers in Welsh-medium secondary schools.

In this account, we shall concentrate on Welsh-medium schools. In what way have these schools been an agency for cultural regeneration? Obviously, in their emphasis on language--and the Welsh language in Wales, in the way it has been suppressed, has been an index of the inferiority of Welshmen vis-à-vis Englishmen; in their emphasis on Welsh identity--and language is part of the consciousness of Welshmen about their identity, a part of the Welsh-speaking person; and in their emphasis on Welsh culture--on Welsh history and literature. These schools have been concerned with restoration of pride and self-confidence to the new generation of Welshmen. In a word, these schools have been concerned with Cymraeg and Cymreictod, the Welsh language and the sense of Welshness, as an interlinked entity. Or, to put it differently, these schools have been concerned with what is known in Welsh as Y Pethe (as in "Siop Y Pethe," Aberystwyth), that is, "Our Things"--literature, books, language, poetry, Eisteddfod, and Penillon singing--things unique to Wales, things considered sui generis. One can, following Durkheim, attempt to construct a whole sociology of "thinghood" based on the power of symbolism, but that is more in the area of philosophy than sociology (cf. Vainhinger, 1912, Die Philosophie der Als Ob, Tuebingen).

For our immediate purposes, we shall be concerned with giving an overall account of Welsh-medium schools--their characteristics and the problems and issues they face. Although many of the items discussed will be interlinked, we will use sub-headings only as a matter of convenience. Obviously, an item may be classifiable under more than one heading or sub-heading. In addition, we shall be concerned more with secondary schools than primary ones and, if appropriate, make a distinction between the two in relation to a given point.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF WELSH-MEDIUM SCHOOLS

### A. Aims

In the great majority of schools in Wales, that is, in English-medium schools, Welsh is taught only for half-an-hour a day at the primary level. Because Welsh itself is taught as a "second" language, children--according to the pro-Welsh Welsh--are "not learning anything at all, which has sown the seeds of discontent. We are living in Wales, and Welsh is precious to us. Half-an-hour a day is not sufficient...." (5/17/74 Field Notes). Therefore, a "Welsh school," i.e., a Welsh-medium school, where children would learn to speak Welsh and use Welsh in the classroom and on the playground, was established.

When English is taught as a "second" language in Welsh-medium primary schools, it is taught for half-an-hour a day. However, because the environment outside the school is Anglicized and saturated with English as a medium of expression, Welsh children spending daily half an hour on English in primary school do not suffer comparatively as much as those learning Welsh only for 30 minutes a day, for the latter have no linguistic support in the environment and, most often, not even in their own English-speaking homes. English, in Welsh-medium primary schools, is taught orally at first; it is introduced at age 6 and becomes a written language in Junior School (ages 7-11), in Standard One (equivalent to second grade in American schools). As the headmaster of a Welsh-medium primary school put it, "We have two aims: knowledge of English as good as anybody, and to keep the Welsh language alive....We have had to reassure the parents that their children's English would be as good as others...." (11/7/73 Field Notes), a reassurance all Welsh-medium schools have had to impart to parents, and continue to have to. After all, there is such a thing as the "market supremacy" of a language, as a Canadian sociologist has called it (Brazeau, 1964:296), and English has that supremacy.

Maintenance of Welsh and a good command of English are the twin purposes of Welsh-medium schools. Maintenance of English is self-evident--"for commercial purposes" and "to get on." Maintenance of Welsh is not that self-evident, at least not to more than 50% of the people in Wales. Hence, Welsh-medium schools labor courageously against odds, for Welsh has none of the usual socio-economic props that sustain English and none of its "official" status. As Nathan Glazer, the "Beyond the Melting Pot" sociologist, has asserted, the political factor is the overriding one in the spread or retreat of a language: "One can hardly overestimate the importance of some official status in maintaining a language. It gives it social status among its native users and serves in part as a barrier against self-deprecation and embarrassment. A little of state support in the form of official printing presses, court proceedings, and school use can at times do more to establish a language than a vast amount of energetic activity by language loyalists" (Glazer, "The Process and Problems of Language Maintenance: An integrative Review"--quoted by Plaid Cymru in a memorandum sent to the Bowen Committee on bilingual road signs, which in turn is quoted by Fishlock, 1972:98-99, emphasis added!). Welsh-medium schools are engaged in an "energetic activity" on behalf of Welsh in the absence of "official" status for the language.

The objectives of Welsh-medium schooling can best be conveyed in direct translation from the decennial yearbook of the Rhydfelen Comprehensive (i.e., Secondary) School, Rhyd-y-felin, Pontypridd, Glamorgan, Wales. This school has played a crucial role in promoting Welsh-medium instruction and is internationally famous in matters of bilingual education. The aims of the school are hereby reproduced bilingually (to assure the American reader, among other things, that Welsh as a foreign language does not bite, and that it is quite different from Polish, Navajo, and Brooklynese). The aims appear on page 11 of Rhydfelen: Y Deng Mlynedd Cyntaf (Rhydfelen: The First Ten Years), 1973 (the school was established in 1962), Gwasg Gomer (Gomer Press), Llandysul, Cymru. The translation is literal.

"Amcanion Ysgol Gyfun Rhydfelen" (Aims of the Rhydfelen Comprehensive School)

"1. Rhoi sylfaen o wybodaeth i bob disgybl: gwybodaeth am ei ardal, ei wlad a'i iaith fel sail i bob gwybodaeth arall."

1. To impart a basic understanding to all pupils: That knowledge of their local area, country, and language is the basis for all other knowledge.

"2. Rhoi cyfle i bob disgybl ddatblygu'r arfer o feddwl drosto'i hun, o bwyso a mesur gwerth yr hyn a gynigir iddo, h.y. i wahaniaethu rhwng y pwysig a'r dibwys."

2. To give every pupil the opportunity of developing the practice of thinking for himself, of measuring the value of that which is offered him, i.e., of being able to distinguish between the important and the less important.

"3. Sicrhau bod pob disgybl yn cael ei ymestyn yn feddydiol hyd eithaf ei allu."

3. To ensure that every pupil is stretched mentally as far as his ability would allow (to give every pupil the best opportunity to perform to the best of his ability).

"4. Rhoi cyfle i'r disgybl ddatblygu'r gelfyddyd o gyfathrebu drwy'r Gymraeg a'r Saesneg gan bwysleisio'r Gymraeg fel cyfrwng yn arbennig."

4. To give every pupil the opportunity of developing the art of communication in Welsh and English, with emphasis on Welsh as a medium.

"5. Trosglwyddo i bob disgybl y pwysigrwydd o gyfrannu i gymdeithas yn ôl ei allu a'i dalent. Sicrhau bod digon o gyfle o fewn cymdeithas yr ysgol i hunanfynegiant, i wasanaethu, i feithrin teyrngarwch ac i arwain."

5. To transmit to every pupil the importance of contributing to the society in which he lives according to his

ability and talent. To ensure that within the school society itself there are enough opportunities for self-expression, service, and leadership.

"6. Creu cymdeithas o fewn yr ysgol ag iddi ymdeimlad o'r gwerthoedd moesol ac ysbrydol."

6. To create within the school a community with a sense of moral and spiritual values.

"7. Trosglwyddo i bob disgybl falchder o fod yn Gymro a phenderfyniad i ddiogelu parhad y genedl."

7. To transmit to every pupil pride in being a Welshman and determination to safeguard the Welsh nationhood.

"8. Paratoi pob disgybl i ennill ei fywoliaeth ac i fyw fel aelod cyfrifol a gwerthfawr o'r gymdeithas y caiff ei hun ynddi."

8. To prepare every pupil to earn his living and to live as a responsible and useful member of the community in which he finds himself.

We hope that this Welsh-English Rosetta Stone of 8 objectives has given the reader a chance to try to decipher Welsh if he is not already familiar with it, a task much easier than deciphering Linear-B in Cretan inscriptions and more akin to working on a newspaper cross-word puzzle. Perhaps the Latin-oriented reader has already discovered some of the Welshified words borrowed from Latin in the above text: "i bob disgybl" (to every pupil--remember the first lesson in Latin, "Discipuli picturam spectate; Romani in Italia habitabant" with all the macrons to be added to long vowels?! Discipulus gives us the Welsh "disgybl" and the English "disciple" and "discipline," an intertwining of socio-religious control); "moesol ac ysbrydol" (moral and spiritual--as you know, Sumner in American sociology was "hepped up" on the "mores and folkways," not so much on spiritus sanctus, which is quite in character); "paratoi pob disgybl" (to prepare every pupil--paro, parare, parati, paratus, like in being "semper paratus," which is what good scouting is all about) and so on and so forth.

Besides socio-linguistics, such a list of 8 aims also serves another purpose, hopefully useful: comparison with the incessant lists of "goals" and "objectives" of education, which American educators (the British call theirs "educationalists," a longer syllabification that bespeaks a different type of situational dignity) constantly turn out. Usually, American educators call these matters "philosophy of education," like when they ask each other right off the bat "what is your philosophy of education," a "philosophy" not so cheapened a concept by the British because of long exposure to a serious study of that field. At any rate, in the history of American education since 1890, there has been a "Committee of 13," a "Committee of 12," a "Committee of 10," a "Committee of 9," an NEA Policies Commission on national objectives, a "Committee of 7," and nothing less than 7 as an adequate membership to prepare "goals for Americans" (cf. Eisenhower's best seller). In other words, it is a national obsession because at least on formal educational occasions, not many American educators seem to be too sure of their "goals." The British visitor to an American school is advised to begin his first encounter with principal and staff by looking the principal in the eye and asking, preferably with a pre-1970 BBC tone of voice, "What is your philosophy of education, your goals," giving the latter word a special tarry-on-a-bit sort of clipped emphasis. That is calculated to throw the throng into a dither, for this is supposed to be a profound and, for Americans, a somewhat sensibly-unanswerable question! The visitor may behold the principal or a delegated teacher go to fetch a book on American education so that unusually idealistic and somewhat Messianic objectives may be read out of it. But on knowing the staff a bit better, the visitor would discover that the objectives are much more humdrum and more down-to-earth than the ones read out, Epistle-fashion, to him. American schoolmen lack the confidence and authority of their British counterparts, although they match them in dedication.

After this brief excursion into cross-linguistic and cross-cultural comparisons, it is quite advisable to go back to the list of aims mentioned earlier. The Rhydfelen (pronounced "Rheed," initial "R" and take "heed," then "vay-lin"--the single "f" is pronounced "v" in Welsh) School, inter alia, emphasizes the language, Welsh, as well as a sense of Welshness (aims No. 1, 4, and 7), as well as a good knowledge of English (No. 4).

## B. Performance

How have Welsh-medium schools done in comparison with English-medium ones? The answer is "very well, indeed." The public image of these schools, invariably, is that they are good schools.

The staff of Welsh medium schools, especially secondary schools, have to balance Welsh and English in the school itself and do another balancing act, of the public relations type, vis-à-vis parents. As a headmaster working with an energetic group of college-oriented parents put it, "Parents are suspicious that an over-emphasis on Welsh means that their children's English would suffer....Many in Wales think that speaking English is synonymous with getting on in the world. They say Welsh is all right for certain activities, but English is for education. We emphasize Welsh because Welsh is the key to Welsh heritage; it is basically essential....We emphasize English to make sure that pupils are not at a disadvantage when it comes to Oxford and Cambridge entrance exams.... English is essential for higher education. If their English is good, they can go to the University of Wales or to universities in England....I tell parents 'We are here to educate, not to teach a language. The grounding in the language /Welsh/ is done in primary school'"(11/30/73 Field Notes).

In Britain, as is well known, the quality of schools is evaluated on the basis of external exams, the questions for which are written and corrected by people not connected with a local school. Good performance on national exams is, obviously, a matter of pride for the school--staff, students, and parents. In secondary school, there are three external exams: C.S.E. (Certificate of Secondary Education), which is thought to be the easiest--i.e., not for scholastically able students--and is taken by students in the Fifth Form; G.S.E.-"O" level (General Certificate of Education, "Ordinary" level), which is a harder exam, requiring the student to take 7-10 subjects—also taken in the Fifth Form; and G.S.E. - "A" level, or simply "A" level, which is taken at the end of the second year of the Sixth Form and is the exam that qualifies the student for admission to a university. For the "A" level, students take at least three subjects, but on a much advanced level, equivalent to an American junior college level.

Wales has 7 Welsh-medium secondary schools. We report here on the performance of one of them, the Rhydfelen School, famous for its academic reputation that compares favorably with the best schools in Wales as well as England.

TABLE 8

RHYDFELEN SCHOOL: "O" LEVEL & "A" LEVEL EXAMS

IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH, 1966-1972

Note: "R" is Rhydfelen; "N" is national percentage, that is, for the whole of Wales.

| Percentage of Success | | "O"Level English | "O"Level French | "A"Level English | "A"Level French |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1966 | R | 100 | --- | --- | --- |
| | N | 62.2 | --- | --- | --- |
| 1967 | R | 54.8 | 84.5 | --- | --- |
| | N | 61.8 | 56.1 | --- | --- |
| 1968 | R | 81.0 | 96.0 | --- | --- |
| | N | 63.7 | 58.2 | --- | --- |
| 1969 | R | 74.0 | 100 | 100 | --- |
| | N | 60.9 | 59.3 | 74.8 | --- |
| 1970 | R | 68.5 | 87.0 | 90.0 | 60.0 |
| | N | 62.2 | 59.7 | 74.3 | 67.7 |
| 1971 | R | 67.2 | 89.5 | 64.3 | 100 |
| | N | 61.1 | 60.5 | 73.1 | 68.0 |
| 1972 | R | 66.6 | 95.0 | 100 | 100 |
| | N | 63.1 | 58.7 | 74.7 | 69.8 |

Source of Table: Rhydfelen: First Ten Years, 1973:46.

Rhydfelen was established in 1962, adding forms (grades) every year until it had the full contingent of 6 forms. On "O" level and "A" level exams in English and French, the Rhydfelen rate of success has been considerably higher than for Wales as a whole, and consistently so, with the exception of only one year for "A" level French (1970) and one year for "A" level English (1971).

TABLE 9

RHYDFELEN SCHOOL: "A" LEVEL EXAMS AS A WHOLE, 1969-1972

| Year | No. of Students Examined | Percentage of Success | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Rhydfelen | Whole of Wales |
| 1969 | 26 | 78% | 70% |
| 1970 | 34 | 66% | 70% |
| 1971 | 37 | 78% | 70% |
| 1972 | 34 | 84% | 70% |

Source of Table: Rhydfelen: First Ten Years, 1973:47

Again, this Table shows that the Welsh-medium school, Rhydfelen, compares very favorably with the national average on its "A" level performance, the exam that admits its students to higher education.

TABLE 10

RHYDFELEN SCHOOL: "O" LEVEL EXAMS AS A WHOLE, 1966-1972

| Year | No. of Students Examined | Percentage of Success | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Rhydfelen | Whole of Wales |
| 1966 | 9 | 78% | 59% |
| 1967 | 56 | 64% | 59% |
| 1968 | 95 | 74% | 59% |
| 1969 | 100 | 70% | 58% |
| 1970 | 90 | 68% | 58% |
| 1971 | 124 | 69% | 58% |
| 1972 | 131 | 75% | 59% |

Source of Table: Rhydfelen: First Ten Years, 1973:48.

The "O" level exam is perhaps equivalent to an American high-school diploma, although the American high-school diploma is a local affair, but dependent on an externally administered exam. This is the middle-level, scholastically oriented exam, of a higher level than the C.S.E., and essential for non-university (and non-manual) careers beyond secondary school. Again, it can be seen from the above Table that the students of this Welsh-medium school are better than the national average for Wales as a whole.

The "A" level, of course, is the pride and joy of a good school; the school's performance on it affects its relations with parents and with universities. The nearest thing to an "A" level exam in America is the Regents Exam in New York State; again, a source of pride and joy, or of agony and distress, to academically minded high school principals in that state.

There is a Table (Rhydfelen: First Ten Years, 1973:48), not reproduced here, which compares the grades Rhydfelen students got on the C.S.E. exam, 1965-1972, with the average for the rest of Wales. Again, the performance of Rhydfelen students in this regard has been consistently better than the national average.

Of the remaining Welsh-medium secondary schools, two do not yet have the full contingent of 6 forms: Llanharri, in Bridgend, near Cardiff, started only in September, 1974; Penweddig in Aberystwyth, only in September, 1973. Glan Clwyd in St. Asaph (established in 1956); Maes Garmon in Mold (1961); Morgan Llwyd in Wrexham (1963); and Ystalyfera in Ystalyfera, near Swansea (1969) also have a reputation of being good schools and above average in their overall performance.

In this context, we should perhaps discuss external exams and their socio-cultural importance for schools in Wales a bit further. "In ancient Greece," one learns in the first lesson of a college-level philosophy course as part of a classics curriculum, "convention was king." In modern Britain, one can say, the exam is king--"bloody sweepstakes," as an informant has called exams. In the first four years of secondary school (forms 1-4, or ages 11 plus to 16), teachers can be innovative and follow the interests of their pupils, but from about the end of the fourth form onwards, the exam fever takes over. Of course education in Wales, as in the rest of Britain, is a serious matter. Children in state schools wear school uniforms and school crests that set them apart from the rest of the population on weekdays during working hours. More importantly, there is a marked business atmosphere in the fifth form--very attentive students, quiet, taking notes, questioning, responding, engrossed in the activity at hand, giving the observer the impression they had no time to lose. They are preparing to pass exams, exams corrected by anonymous people, not their own teachers. Their whole future hinges on the outcome of these exams; they are to be employed according to whether they have, or have not, passed their C.S.E., "O" level, or "A" level exams.

For each subject there is a syllabus. There are various outfits in Britain that prepare syllabi. The school has a choice of what kind of syllabus within a given field--e.g., in history--to adopt. The agency responsible for the overall administration of exams is the Welsh Joint-Education Committee (W.J.E.C.). The local school or the teachers in a given school cannot by themselves determine the syllabus for what their students may be examined on, but can choose a "ready"one.

The British external examination system is elitist in its bias, ensuring that only a few are selected (many may feel "called" but not "chosen"). It is a rigid stratification system, a "weeding out" process. In that system, it is harder for a graduate of a secondary school to get a university education if he does not have the required "A" level stigmata than in the American system of high-school to higher education.

Final exams are usually held in June. Prior to that, "mock exams" are held in February as a "dry run." "O" level and "A" level exam questions, from previous years, for example, are given to all students preparing for the June event and corrected by the local teachers themselves. As a result, some students may be advised to take C.S.E. rather than "O" level, or to sit for the exam in a given subject in English rather than Welsh. Teachers go over student papers with parents, thus giving parents a clear idea of the capacity of their offspring to take exams. The parents are usually delighted to see their children's answers and what the children have done right or wrong in answering a given question.

In this system of examinations, the sixth form (last two years of secondary school) has a special status. It is at the end of the second year of the sixth form that students take ("sit for" is the British word) their "A" level exam. In all schools, sixth formers have separate quarters, their own enclave within the school, quite often a combination library, classroom, and common room for brewing tea or imbibing soft drinks. The sixth-formers are treated more like adults than children; they are "special," an elite. More accurately, they are academic race horses!

A word about non-exam-takers in British schools is in order. About three years ago, a law was passed extending compulsory schooling through age 16 (formerly, British pupils could drop out of school at age 15). This extra year of compulsory education has caused a lot of controversy among British teachers who formerly could say "good riddance" to irritatingly rambunctious or non-academically oriented teen-agers at age 15 (their American counterparts had been putting up with "non-academic material" through age 16 for quite a long time, for in most states age 16 has been the mandatory cut-off point at which children could legally leave school). In Britain, a new category of "pariah children" was created, called ROSLA children, an acronym which sounds innocuous on the surface but which is fraught with dislike and resentment among teachers; it simply stands for "raising of the School Leaving Age" children. British teachers, and of course Welsh teachers among them, are exam-oriented and like to teach bright children (called "clever" in British English); they do not like to teach

ROSLA children. American teachers have a more elaborate vocabulary of damnation for equivalent children, calling them "slow learners," "non-educable," "culturally deprived," and the like. One needs to write on the sociology of pariah groups in education with a cross-cultural perspective, on the rejects of the factory-type system called the "school." It is the connotation, not denotation, of ROSLA that counts.

Students who take the C.S.E. exam cannot take the "A" level one; only those who take the "O" level exam can do so. In 1973-74, a new degree was created, for those students who stay beyond the C.S.E. or the "O" level but who do not think they would do an "A" level. The new degree is called C.E.E. (Certificate of Extended Education). C.E.E. candidates have the benefit of staying on in school, accompanying their "A" level classmates until graduation. Generally, the C.E.E. is considered a new level between the "O" level and the "A" level. It is an attempt at democratization of secondary education. (Earlier attempts at democratization have resulted in abolishing the 11-plus exam and separate "grammar," i.e., college-preparatory schools, turning the British secondary school into a "comprehensive" one for various ability groups.)

At a Welsh-medium school, "O" level exam, for example, has 3 compulsory subjects (English, Welsh, maths) and 8 optional. The "A" level exam has a minimum of one subject, but 3 is the usual number and 4 is possible. The "A" level exam has no compulsory subjects; a usual exam consists of 2 languages plus biology or history (of course the "A" level candidate has already passed his "O" level exams in 7-10 subjects and knows all these school "offerings" that American educators call "rich," "enriched," or something to denote a "new, improved" product). In some Welsh-medium schools, 3 languages (Welsh, English, and French) are offered in primary school, 5 in secondary ones (Welsh, English, French, German, and Latin).

We can summarize this section by saying that Welsh-medium schools faced a lot of opposition from the start: Like all minorities, they had to be better than average in order to be considered average! They have won their reputation as academically outstanding; even in English, their students compare favorably on national exams with the best students in English schools, English-medium schools in both England and Wales that is. Parents want to send their children to these schools not only because they teach in Welsh, which is culturally important to Welshmen as English is to Englishmen, but because these schools are essentially good schools.

## C. Subjects Taught in English vs. in Welsh

It should be remembered that Welsh ceased to be the language of administration in Wales in 1536, that ever since that time, it has not had "official" status. This means that the language has remained essentially pre-industrial, that is, an excellent vehicle for expression of poetry and emotions, but an untried vehicle for expression of bureaucratic, industrial, and technological concerns. It is, for example, still hard to teach physics or chemistry in Welsh, much easier to teach such subjects in English. Besides, even traditionally "literary" subjects such as history, considered part of the humanities and thus more easily manageable in a pre-industrial language (a subject dealing with stories, epics, animosities, triumphs, damnations) lack Welsh textbooks for them. Hence, in most subjects, teachers in Welsh-medium schools still, by and large, rely on English textbooks. In other words, the text may be in English, but the class lectures, discussions, analysis, interpretation, homework, and C.S.E., "O" level, or "A" level exams are in Welsh. In this respect, Wales is not unlike Norway, Sweden, and Holland in the First World and many countries in the Third World: When it comes to teaching science or mathematics in the secondary school, the native language may be the language of discussion and interpretation but some of the major texts continue to be in a world language, English.

Teachers are currently turning out mimeographed materials and lists of technical terms to be used in teaching various subjects. As an example, a project carried out by the Department of French, Rhydfelen School, has resulted in the compilation of a Welsh-French dictionary now used by the other Welsh-medium secondary schools (Dictionnaire Gallois-Francais: Geiriadur Cymraeg-Ffrangeg, compiled by "Adran Ffrangeg," that is, Welsh Department, Ysgol Rhydfelen, February 1970, Mimeo., 88 pages). A similar project dealing with the teaching of physics in Welsh has been centered at the Morgan Llwyd School in Wrexham, north-east Wales. Currently, physics is taught through the medium of Welsh in the first, second, third, and fourth forms, and the school has applied for the C.S.E. and "O" level exams to be in Welsh in 1974-75. Some students intend to do "A" level physics in Welsh. The teacher heading the project had to build up physics through the medium of Welsh from scratch, for him and his pupils. The school has no textbooks in Welsh for physics or any science subjects. The teacher himself is preparing a grounding textbook in Welsh for the first two forms, but it has not yet been published. Two H.M.I.'s (school inspectors) and about 20 teachers are involved in writing chapters for this textbook. Currently Morgan Llwyd is the only school in Wales (i.e., only school in the world) which is teaching science through the medium of Welsh up to examination level. Other schools, according to some informants, had started off teaching science in Welsh, but when it came to exams, parental opposition forced them to have the exam in English. It seems that L.E.A.'s (Local Education Authorities) are not too happy about teaching science through the medium of Welsh. Anti-Welsh Welshmen are inclined to say--and have often said--"You know, physics had always been taught in English," not Welsh, but the attitude of those involved in the physics-in-Welsh project at Morgan Llwyd is why study physics in English at a Welsh-medium school, why keep the children here when they can go elsewhere, e.g., to the English-medium schools in town? In a sense, the Wrexham Welsh-medium school, the Morgan Llwyd School, is, according to some informants, a lab to tell Caernarvonshire it can be done in Welsh, that exams in science can be passed in Welsh!

The subjects taught in Welsh in the Welsh-medium secondary schools generally are: history, geography, scripture, music, French, art, drama, cookery (rarely called "domestic science"), needlework, woodwork, metalwork, physical education, and, of course, Welsh. The subjects taught in English are: English itself, as well as maths (the word is in the plural in British English, singular in American English), physics, chemistry, biology, and technical drawing. In a word, at a Welsh-medium secondary school, the subjects taught in Welsh are all except English, maths, and the sciences. It should be remembered that the "O" level and "A" level exams are in the two languages.

A most useful Welsh-English, English-Welsh compendium has recently been published, called Y Geiriadur Termau (Dictionary of Terms--University of Wales Press, 1973), which has become indispensable to teachers.

In the 1950's, school textbooks in Welsh were not up to standard. Some headmasters made a deliberate decision to give their pupils English texts rather than second-rate typed or mimeographed books in Welsh. Usually, there are more Welsh textbooks available for forms 1 and 2 than for forms 4-6; the latter tend to rely on English textbooks but write their work in Welsh. Because of limited circulation, Welsh textbooks tend to cost more than English ones; however, through its Welsh Books Scheme and guarantee of sale for publishers, the Welsh Joint Education Committee, as we discussed earlier, is greatly aiding the availability of Welsh textbooks and readers for Welsh-medium schools.

## D. Notes on the Operation of Welsh-Medium Schools

In Wales, one hears a constant refrain to the effect that Welsh-medium schools, the Ysgolion Cymraeg, are "middle-class" schools and that they have also been dubbed as "snob schools." This is part of the self-image of these schools, an image that asserts that it is mostly the "best" people who send their children there, an image that flatters the rising middle-class in Wales, and an image that, in a "Last Year at Marienbad" fashion, blends with reality. To put it a bit differently, Welsh-medium schools are vehicles for assertion of middle-classness, of the rising expectations of counter-elites in the process of formation.

Welsh-medium schools have had a rapid growth, though they are still a very small percentage of the total number of schools in Wales, which are the schools for Anglicization. Welsh-medium schools are the schools for Welshification; it may have been Martin Luther who had said, "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump" (if not Luther, then it must have been, as some Americans would say, either Shakespeare or the Bible). These schools are beginning to have a "leavening effect" especially on "natural Welsh schools," where the instruction is in English but the home language is predominantly Welsh.

A few statistics about the growth of Welsh-medium schools, concerned only with a tiny portion of these schools, may be in order. A word about the feeder schools for some of the secondary ones may be also helpful in rounding out the picture. St. Paul's Primary School in Bangor, when established in 1953, had 30 children and 2 teachers; in 1973-74, it had 240 children (ages 3-plus to 11-plus) and 10 teachers, including the Head. Cwmbwrla Primary School in Swansea, when established in 1969 had 94 children; in 1973-74, it had 181 children, 6 teachers, and Head. Lonlas Primary School in Swansea, and Bryntaf in Cardiff, have also had similar rates of growth, though they are quite larger than Cwmbwrla (the former has 210 children, 7 teachers, and Head; the latter has 378 children). St. Francis Primary School in Barry had, when it started in 1951, 14 children (ages 3-6) and 1 teacher in the first term of that year when the parents themselves paid the teacher, 28 children and 2 teachers the second term. In 1973-74, St. Francis School had 297 pupils, 10 full-time teachers, 3 part-time teachers, and Head. When Rhydfelen Secondary School in Rhyd-y-felin, Glamorgan, was established in 1962, it had 80 pupils and was meant to be a small school with an optimum of 350 pupils; in 1973-74, it had 970 pupils and expected an addition of 230 pupils in September, 1974! From 45 teachers in 1973-74, it expected to have 61 in 1974-75. In its first 10 years history, 1962-1972, Rhydfelen had 18 feeder schools (Rhydfelen, 1973:34) of which 4 were reassigned to Ystalyfera Secondary School in 1969. In 1973-74, Rhydfelen had 15 feeder schools. Rhydfelen has a wide catchment area (attendance district); children travel to it daily by bus from about 25 miles away; its annual transport bill (transportation bill) is £60,000 ($150,000), which is high by British standards. In September, 1963 when Morgan Llwyd Secondary School in Wrexham was established, it had 36 children (11-plus) as its first-year intake; in 1973-74, it had 274 pupils. Half of the 274 pupils came from feeder schools in the town of Rhos; the other half, from 4 other feeder schools. This school is currently the smallest Welsh-medium secondary school to have the full contingent of forms 1-6. In 1973-74, Maes Garmon Secondary School in Mold had 700 pupils and 44 teachers; in September 1974, it was to have 800 pupils and 48 teachers. In 1973-74, Maes Garmon had only four Welsh-medium primary schools to draw upon; it had to turn its increasingly large intake of English-speaking pupils into Welsh-speakers competent enough to take their "O" level exams in Welsh. In September, 1956 when Glan Clwyd School in St. Asaph was established, it had 93 pupils; in 1973-74 it had 850 pupils and 43 teachers. In September, 1974, it was slated to have 1,000 pupils and 60 teachers. The annual intake of the Ystalyfera Secondary School in Ystalyfera near Swansea has been recently around 210 pupils. In 1973-74, Ystalyfera (pronounced us-ta-la-vera) had 1031 pupils and 57 teachers; in 1974-75, it was going to have between 1150 and 1170 children and 66 teachers. The Ystalyfera catchment area is quite extensive, about as large as that of Rhydfelen. Children are daily bused to it from a 20 to 25 miles radius.

We have only given a few examples of the rapid growth of Welsh-medium primary schools (in 1974-75, there were 62 of them) and of Welsh-medium secondary schools (in 1974-75, there were 7 of them, with an 8th slated to be opened in Cardiff in September, 1976).

A word about the names of some of the schools we have mentioned, and about names of schools in general, would be in order (perhaps a student of society would in the future submit a treatise on "scholatonymy"--to coin a word for a new "science" alongside anthroponymy, toponymy, and so forth; nowadays, one cannot talk about ordinary matters unless he turns them into "science"). Schools are usually named (a) after the town, district, area, or neighborhood in which they are located (e.g., Bryntaf, Cwmbwrla, Lonlas, Rhydfelen, Ystalyfera, and Glan Clwyd), which in turn may be indicative of physical features having to do with hills or valleys ("Bryn" is hill, also as in Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania; "Cwm" is valley; "Lon" is lane or road, so that "Lonlas" actually means Blue-Green Lane, that is, a tree-lined lane), water-crossings ("Rhyd" is ford; Oxford in Welsh is called Rhyd-y-chen, literally "Ford of the Oxen"), or rivers (Glan Clwyd means on the banks of the River Clwyd); (b) after important historical figures, e.g., heroes in battle and great national leaders (e.g., Glyn Dŵr), law-givers (e.g., Hywel Dda), or famous writers (Morgan Llwyd--the"Llwyd" is the original of the Anglicized Lloyd, which literally means Grey-Brown: see how the Welsh emphasize color combinations--a 17th century Welsh writer educated in Wrexham); (c) after famous battles (e.g., Maes Garmon, i.e., the battlefield in North Wales where St. Germanus, aided by a blast of Alleluias from the Welsh, won a victory in 482 A.D. over the Picts, thus ensuring victory for Christianity--"Maes" is field, "Garmon" is the Welshification of the good saint's name, a rather well-thought-of missionary); or (d) after saints whose church vestries had provided a shelter for Welsh-medium schools when there was no room for them elsewhere (e.g., St. Francis), or after saints whose churches are close by to guard over schools, so to speak (e.g., St. Paul). A cross-cultural study in this respect would be indicative of types of national ethos, of common and different value-orientations.

Welsh-medium schools are, like schools in Britain in general, subject-matter oriented and exam-bound; in other words, they tend to be what Americans call "college-preparatory" schools. It is for that matter that pupils in some of these schools are "streamed" (part of what American schoolmen call "homogeneous ability grouping"); in others, "banded" (i.e., grouped for various subject-matter areas to represent a range of ability within each "band"--in "streaming," the best students are "creamed off the top"; in "banding," the crème-de-la-crème is distributed, more-or-less, throughout the various "bands," or subject-matter groups). "Banding" is more democratic and is in line with the recent development in Britain to get away from a "grammar'school" orientation and embrace a "comprehensive-school" one, that is, something closer to American practices in most high schools. The C.E.E., a new level between the "O" level and "A" level exam mentioned earlier, is another gesture towards further democratization. The elitist ethos, however, the good-marks-on-the-exam type of orientation, is still the overall framework for any new practices.

Because Welsh-medium primary schools are not faced with external exams (but are ultimately faced with standards of quality to ensure their goodness as feeder schools supplying well-prepared and Welsh-proficient products for secondary schools), they tend to be more innovative and more relaxed in what American schoolmen call "meeting the needs of children." Although Welsh-medium primary schools lack the bright physical facilities, "automotive" (literally, a lot of movement) or audio-visual or video-taping types of gadgetry and educational gimmicks that a considerable number of American schools seem to have (one has to look at things anthropologically, believing that the American version of humanity represents only one of many), partly to keep their charges entertained and neutralized amidst custodial surroundings, these schools, the Welsh-medium primary schools, compensate by _creating_ rather than merely buying what they need to make the children's surroundings more cheerful and activity-bound. But make no mistake about it, the seriousness of purpose in these schools--that learning is an important and central commitment in whatever children or teachers do--is something not found to the same extent or in the same intensity in most American schools. If one observes schools anthropologically (for schools in large, metropolitan areas, one should also know the sociological literature on hospitals and prisons), deliberately keep a cross-cultural perspective, and not take anything about schools automatically for granted but treat them as if they were exotic tribes, one gets to see them as a concentrated version of the triumphs and problems of the society in which they are embedded (in relation to American schools, see, for example, Khleif, 1971, and 1974). The stratification system of Britain is maintained by an elitist ethos in education, by concentration on the few; that of the U.S., by a seemingly more egalitarian one, by concentration on the many, on the mass for the "mass society." Be that as it may,although Welsh-medium secondary schools are "college-preparatory" in their approach, some, obviously, are more so than others. Among those that deliberately make provisions to help what is considered C.S.E. and "O" level, rather than just "A" level, there is one that emphasizes bilingual clerical skills, another that has as much a variety of animals for children to tend as may be found in a "kibbutz" (even during the lunch break after pupils finish their meal, they have an unusually large variety of purposeful activities to absorb their energy and interest), and a third school which boasts elaborate facilities for woodwork and metalwork of the industrial, not hobby or recreational, kind and an excellent art department. Welsh-medium secondary schools tend to have excellent language labs to help pupils with different abilities.

About three or four years ago, in a trend towards modernization and democratization, some of the schools in Wales dropped Uwchradd as a middle name (which means "secondary") in favor of Gyfun (which stands for "comprehensive"). Thus "comprehensive school" in Wales, as in England, has come to indicate what in America is generally called "high school."

In this account, when we speak of Welsh-medium secondary schools, we mean simply those beyond the primary level, that is, forms 1 through 6, regardless of whether they technically have "Uwchradd" or "Gyfun" in their names. ("Uwchradd" is pronounced, "you" then "ch" as in the Scottish "loch," more familiar to Americans in the Yiddish "chutzpeh," then "radd" with the double "d" sound as in the "th" of "then"--got it? "Gyfun" is pronounced approximately "Gaveen," with a hard "g.") In addition, we have used "pupils" to denote schoolchildren from nursery school through the sixth-form, that is, also to denote what in America is generally called "high-school students." This is in line with British usage.

Although the majority of Welsh-medium primary school children go to Welsh-medium secondary schools, a few go to English-medium ones not because they want to, but because they have to. That is, they do not have a conveniently located Welsh-medium secondary school nearby. In one case, for example, St. Paul's Welsh-medium primary school in Bangor, North Wales (ages 3-plus to 11-plus) feeds into two schools: an English-medium school, Ffriddoedd, where Welsh is taught as a second language and all subjects are taught through the medium of English, and Tryfan, a Welsh-medium school where Welsh, history, geography, and scriptures are taught through the medium of Welsh and where a Welsh atmosphere is maintained, e.g., in the school assembly in the morning and in similar activities. However, Ffriddoedd and Tryfan are only for three years (similar to an American junior-high school); so after that, the St. Paul pupils go to Upper Friars School, which is an English-medium school. Thus, for them, the Welsh-medium "chain" is broken. Pro-Welsh Welsh teachers and parents are worried and ask regarding instruction: "If they can do it through the medium of Welsh at the University, why not at Upper Friars?" In other words, what some American educators call "articulation," that is, the interlinkage and mutual influence of the secondary school on both the elementary one and the college or university, is missing in this case.

What line of work do graduates of Welsh-medium primary and secondary schools go into? What occupations are represented among them? The greatest majority of graduates of Welsh-medium schools go into teaching--Wales exports teachers to England. They go to such Welsh-medium teachers colleges as Trinity College, Carmarthen, the separate colleges of education in Bangor, Barry, and Cardiff, and to the constituent colleges of the University of Wales in Bangor, Aberystwyth, Cardiff, and Swansea. About 80% of all the college-bound graduates of the Welsh-medium secondary schools go to institutions of higher learning in Wales itself; the rest mostly to those in England. With the exception of preparation for teaching, those who go into the professions--medicine, law, engineering, etc.--get their higher education in English, not Welsh; hence the agitation for a full-fledged Welsh-medium University College in Wales at present. Many of the graduates also go into nursing; others go into bilingual secretarial work at the BBC, the National Museum of Wales or the Welsh

Folk Museum, and the Welsh Office in Cardiff--governmental agencies where Welsh is needed. Similarly, bilingual secretarial skills are being utilized by banks and other businesses.

Among the graduates of St. Francis Welsh-medium school in Barry, for example, a school established in 1951, are a good deal of teachers--who would be using Welsh in their work (interestingly enough, one of the graduates is herself a teacher now at St. Francis)--several nurses, several bilingual secretaries, a lecturer at Aberystwyth, one in medicine, and two in law. (The emphasis on mobility through teaching is almost the pattern seen in the industrially underdeveloped world, be it India or certain segments of the northern New England states.) Other Welsh-medium schools, mutatis mutandis when it comes to numbers and years since inception, show almost the same pattern, the same distribution.

The crucial thing is that as long as Welsh is not an official language, its economic power continues to be limited. Pro-Welsh Welshmen, hard-pressed to explain the value of the language to English monoglots and to anti-Welsh Welsh-speakers, can only stress the cultural more than the economic benefits. Of course the economic benefits prior to the establishment of Welsh-medium schools on a large scale in the late 1950's and early 1960's were even more limited than now. Things are always interrelated; the new middle-class in Wales may succeed, through its efforts in schools and other institutions, to push for legislation to make Welsh genuinely of "equal validity." It is such hope that sustains the Welsh-medium effort in the schools of Wales.

## E. On the Process of Welshification in Welsh-Medium Schools

It can be said that for pro-Welsh Welshmen in Wales, ethnicity is a bridge to the cultural past, a form of historical consciousness, an assertion of identity conveyed through language, the traditional native language. What has been said by pro-French French-Canadians in Quebec about the centrality of language in their sense of identity and community can be regarded as also applicable to Welsh Wales:

> Language here is our last frontier, our last protection. Language is the ultimate and richest symbol of our identity. If the collectivity loses its identity, each individual continues to exist, but the collectivity does not (Jean-Paul Desbiens, quoted by Woolfson, 1974:76, emphasis added).

Of course, Saunders Lewis and other pro-Welsh Welshmen have said as much, if not much more. To the average Welshman, even when he is an English monoglot, Welsh is associated with grandparents, kinfolk, village Wales, roots. This is why many English-speaking Welshmen have elected to send their children to Welsh-medium schools, that is, to special schools that turn English-speakers into Welsh-speakers who are conscious of their history and cultural heritage. It should be remembered that most often at least 80% of children in any Welsh-medium school come from English-speaking homes, that is, homes where one of the parents if not both does not, or do not, speak Welsh, where Welsh is not the vehicle for ideas or emotions. By definition, Welsh-medium schools are schools in Anglicized areas, in areas where English is the daily language of the greatest majority of people.

Welsh-medium schools have strong parental associations. Parents engage in fund raising and other activities on behalf of the school, or help run the nursery or the Welsh play-groups associated with the school. The paradox--quite understandable--is that whereas the "official" language of the Welsh-medium school is Welsh, its parent-teacher meetings and joint activities are conducted in English!

How are English-monoglot children turned into pro-Welsh Welsh-speakers under school auspices? How is the Welshness of the small minority of children from Welsh-speaking homes also maintained? The latter children, it should be said, act as a leaven ("a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump," quoth Luther) and help along with the process, but of crucial importance is the authority structure of the school. Any socialization process, it may be added, depends on structure and culture, that is, on a hierarchy of power thought to be legitimate and meaningful by both the trainers and those to be trained and a value system, a blueprint for conduct and a way of explaining reality, that such hierarchy of power espouses and advances. Socialization into Welshness, the Welshification process, has both of these elements.

In British schools--Welsh schools, among them--the headmaster or headmistress is a person of unquestioned authority; he or she really "setsthe tone for the school";

the word "Head" itself is uttered by the Head himself or herself and by the parents and teachers--especially by the teachers--with a sense of finality, with an acknowledgment of authority and stature.

In other words, the authority of the "Head"--unlike that of the school principal in the U.S.--is not so constantly or consciously negotiable in every little interaction; the Welsh "Head," unlike the American "Prin" (to coin an unusable abbreviation), does not have to resort to elaborate manipulative techniques to get his teachers to do what he wants them minimally to do, nor to resort to Rogerian gimmicks--contortion or deadpanning of face, the baring of teeth in what goes for smiling or an attempt at smiling (the sort of Vittorio di Sica smile in Italian films, not a smile somewhat with the whole face including the eyes), emotionally unintended softness of voice and diction to mark the seething authoritarianism within, and so forth. One suspects that Rogerian con games practiced by some American schoolmen are a substitute for authoritativeness; indeed, an indication of its absence. When the organic bonds of a community are gone; when people become unknown quantities to one another, even more to themselves; when the person becomes privatized and isolated, floating in a culture of "individualism" (i.e., among other things, one that puts a premium on self-centeredness and aggression), then Rogerian masks become a great aid to communication. In a Gemeinschaft, one expresses true emotions; in a Gesellschaft, one hides one's feelings--hence, among other things, the great American industry of making people feel about their feelings. The purpose of these remarks is to stress the sense of community that is still prevalent in Wales but that is in part somewhat eroded in a post-industrial society such as the U.S.A. as well as to emphasize the greater emotional economy--of the husbanding of energy and emotional resources--that the Welsh school administrator is capable of, in comparison with his American counterpart. In other words, the American school principal spends a good deal of his psychological energy trying to maintain his authority, an energy that could be spent on "getting things done." There is, of course, a difference between authority or authoritativeness and authoritarianism; the former is crucial to the socialization process.

What has been said about the Welsh headmaster or headmistress is also true of the Welsh teacher. Parents and children look up to the teacher in Wales; in the public mind, being a teacher is still an honorable occupation. In a sense, the teacher is still the "vicar of the community."

What all the aforementioned boils down to is that in the Welshification process, the headmaster and the teachers have the requisite authority; parents do not constantly "horn in" on their work to question it or trivialize it; on the contrary, parents constantly uphold such work and extend it. The teacher, headmaster or schoolmaster, is still literally in loco parentis. Parents and teachers share the same culture or value system concerning the importance of the school and place of Welsh in it. There is more unity than separateness on basic issues. *Mutatis mutandis*, one needs to be aware of such factors in the study of the Americanization process in American schools.

All teachers in Welsh-medium schools are bilingual--"we won't have them otherwise" (as a number of school informants have asserted).

How is the requisite atmosphere maintained concerning the language? In Infant School (ages 5-7, the first stage of the primary school), no adult speaks a word of English, not in front of the children anyway; Welsh is the only language they hear from the teacher. Indeed, many children at this level think that neither the headmaster nor the teachers know a word of English! In several Welsh-medium primary schools that this writer visited, children in some classes registered genuine feelings of surprise, even astonishment, when a teacher or headmaster spoke English in front of them for the benefit of the visitor. That an *Americanwr* (American) speaks English is quite understandable, but that a *prifathro* (headmaster) or *athro* (teacher) can do so is inconceivable--or was inconceivable until that point. This is in contradistinction to what many school informants (teachers and Heads) had themselves experienced as pupils in English-medium schools in Bala (cf. Bala Cynwyd, the combined name of two Welsh towns in central Wales given to a town northwest of Philadelphia--yes, the Welsh were there, in Pennsylvania) or other places in Wales: it was long after they had left school that they discovered that some of their own teachers whom they had thought to be English monoglots all along could actually speak Welsh and speak it fluently! Being a native Welsh-speaker prior to 1945 was not something Welsh teachers advertised about themselves, at least not willingly to their pupils.

In Welsh-medium primary schools, no formal instruction in English is introduced before age 8, no English reading before 8. The emphasis is on "more conversational Welsh, less book-Welsh, so that the language becomes a living thing, a thing to be used, not a mere scholastic exercise" (5/15/74 Field Notes).

As the same informant has stressed, "The language of the class is Welsh; the language of play is Welsh. So after one and three-quarter years in the Nursery they can converse fairly competently in Welsh. J-1, the eight-year-olds, would not speak English except when they skip and jump....They have their jingles in English; they play with English-speaking children....because they live away from their classmates" (5/15/74 Field Notes).

In addition to the lack of continuity of Welsh in the life of the child outside the school, there is the problem of his bombardment by English from all sides. In other words, the outside influences, according to some school informants, conspire to Anglicize the child and make it more natural for him to master English. As an informant put it,

> It is far more difficult to work in a Welsh school because of the problem of teaching Welsh when there is a tendency to deviate and speak English....But the patterns of English to a child are repeated everyday on television, radio,

> ....etc., so they are recognized and repeated. "Have you read this, bought this, yes, no".... In Welsh there is a variety of patterns: "Have you read this book?"--you have 2 or 3 words in answer to that according to the pattern used. If Ydy-chi (have you), the answer is ydw. If the child does not hear the pattern, then he uses ie, which also means yes but is an incorrect answer. Because they do not recognize the pattern, they do not give the correct answer (5/15/74 Field Notes).

It takes dedicated teachers to counteract these outside influences.

In Welsh-medium primary schools, both headmaster (or headmistress) and teachers try to persuade children not to use English on the playground. Some do so deliberately, others try not to make an issue of it. As an informant put it, "A child must have an outlet. We can't say 'None of that English.' If we say that to a kiddie, then he'll be afraid of saying anything at all. We are more homely here than other schools" (5/15/74 Field Notes). By "homely," as is well-known, is meant friendly and down-to-earth.

In the same Welsh primary school, a child is addressed by the informal "ti" ("you" singular, the equivalent of the archaic English "thou"), that is, in the familiar form, not in the more formal "chi." "God is addressed as ti in the Bible; ti expresses closeness and love....Here we call every child ti." The school is like one large family, with teachers acting as surrogate parents or fond relatives, with lots of endearments to children. The kids are treated with affection and respect. The school has, among other teachers, 3 Mrs. Williamses (unrelated), 3 Mrs. Davieses (also unrelated), and 2 Mrs. Thomases (also unrelated) --an exuberance of familiar Welsh names!

In Infants School (ages 5-7), music, dancing, and drama are emphasized in the teaching of Welsh. Among the roles that children love to enact are those of two sixteenth-century Welsh pirates: Berti Ddu (Black Bartholomew) and Harry Morgan.

In Wales (nor in England for that matter), teachers do not have the usual abundance of audio-visual aids and proliferation of gadgets on wheels--tape recorders, films, transparencies, overhead projectors, and the like--that many American teachers have. There, teachers fall back on their own resources; they are creative and, indeed, resourceful. Their exhibits and creations are handmade and hand-lettered. In one school, for example, in one large room, the teachers have set up marvellous "play corners" for kids--booth-like exhibits with paper cut-outs, figurines, and hand-made lists for the kids to learn Welsh vocabulary from and converse about. The four "Play Corners" are:

(a) "Wendy House"--a large Doll House. (Wendy is a popular name for girls in Britain; the exhibit is a far cry from the "Barbi-Doll" or "Chatty-Kathy" expensive type of nonsense marketed by American commercial interests.

(b) "Corner Shop" (Siop y Gornel) with a display of pictures with Welsh captions for milk, bread, bacon, ice cream, etc.

(c) "Beauty Shop"--hairdressers for women, with the usual paraphernalia displayed.

(d) "Y Clinic"--a clinic with pictures and captions related to medical care.

Perhaps along with the delightful "Play Corners" and bright posters, the most important "equipment" in the school is teachers with sunny dispositions.

The top class in the same school is Standard Four (for children 11 years of age). The teacher of this class is herself a graduate of the same school, having gone to Bangor Training College for her teacher training. She had learned her Welsh at this school and has continued to use it as her first language. She is a successful example of the process of Welshification. She has an excellent Welsh library for her fourth grade, a well-stocked library with various storybooks and supplementary texts. The picture of her classroom and some of the pupils using its library appears in the 1974-75 Wales Year Book, although without much of a specific caption to do justice to the school and its dedicated staff.

Among the textbooks that pupils in Standard Four in this school use are translations of a popular English schoolbook series published by Wheaton & Co., Exeter, England, 1967. Some of the titles in the series, here given in English for the most part, are:

Book 1, Milk
Book 2, Tea
Book 3, Cotton
Book 4, Rubber
Book 5, Sheep
Book 6, Miners (Glowyr)--Llyfr 6, i.e., Book 6 by O.B. Gregory
Book 7, Cowboys (in Welsh, Cowbois)

Book 8, Woodcutters, Lumberjacks
Book 9, Postmen

Another Standard Four reader used, a Welsh translation of an English text, is called Furry Creatures of the Countryside by George E. Hyde (Hulton Educational Publications Ltd., 55 Saffron Hill, London E.C.1, 1967). This book in its Welsh version, as well as in its English one, is printed in Holland by the Ysel Press--a reflection on the high cost of publication in Britain. (Cf. a "Hyde" linked to "furry" creatures!)

The above list of readers exemplify in their titles the somewhat serious nature of education given fourth-graders in England and Wales and are indicative of the rather high percentage of Welsh textbooks that are mere translations rather than original works.

As school staff sees it, how do Welshified and Welshifiable school children react in part to their learning of Welsh as an operational language?

> At Infants level, they think it is terribly clever to say something in Welsh that Mom and Dad can't understand!....In Junior School, on the playground, when they are running as a foxhound in full cry, they use English, but upon seeing a teacher, they switch to Welsh.... By ages 16 to 17, they are proud of the fact they have two languages and will try to speak Welsh at every opportunity....It is good to keep the good will of the children....when they do not speak Welsh at times, when we want them to speak Welsh....This does not mean that they will be anti-English at all, for we also teach them English (5/15/74 Field Notes).

This same school has a good will visitation program with a primary school in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia (spelled phonetically in Welsh as Tsiecoslovacia). Paradoxically, whereas this school is the only school in town which is trying to preserve the Welsh language, it is promoting English in its school visit program with Czechoslovakia!

So far, we have emphasized that the Welshification process--the acquisition of Welsh as a language and identification with it --depends on a clear structure of authority in the school, on shared values between the school staff as a group and between them and parents, and on the teachers themselves being a good example of what they teach, that is, being adequate role models. This process is more easily carried out in primary than secondary schools and especially in secondary schools where the pupils' career represents a continuation of exposure to Welsh since age 5 or thereabouts. But there are some secondary Welsh-medium schools who have been "flooded" with English monoglots at age 11-plus or 12, monoglots who have to be Welshified in a hurry so they can sit for their C.S.E., "O" level, or "A" level exams four to six years after their entry. For such pupils, a "Block Program" has been devised, a sort of "Rapid Welsh" concentrated training program, a "Crash Course."

### The "Block Program"

This is also known as the "Block System of Teaching Welsh as a Second Language" or simply as the "Crash Course in Welsh." Because Welsh-medium schools have a reputation of being good schools, some English-speaking parents who had never sent their children to a Welsh-medium primary school at times decide to send them directly, and without any knowledge of Welsh, to Welsh-medium secondary schools when they finish English-medium primary schools! Headmasters of Welsh-medium secondary schools usually resent the influx of English monoglots, because they slow down the school and may adversely affect its exam-passing record. In addition, English-speaking Welsh pupils present a problem of assimilation, of integration, of absorption into on-going Welsh-based life in the school. Besides, headmasters and teachers are apprehensive lest the newcomers serve unwittingly as a nucleus for increasing the influence of English in the school, an influence that by design the Welsh medium school was set up to counteract in the first place! It is for these reasons that any major increase in the number of English monoglots in Welsh-medium schools--that is, monoglots who had bypassed going through the usual route of Welsh-medium primary schools--is at worst regarded with a mixture of apprehension and resentment and at best not welcomed with great enthusiasm. Legally, secondary-school headmasters cannot fully control the number of such newcomers to their schools. Some parents have, through writing to the Secretary of State for Wales, put pressure on headmasters to accept their monoglot children.

In order to group the newly-arrived English-speaking monoglots into manageable ability groups, they are usually given an American standardized scholastic test that is used in America to group Puerto Rican children for purposes of instructing them in English, for teaching them English as a second language. The test is called the "Modern Language Aptitude Test" or "MLAT" for short, Elementary Level, Form EA (devised by John B. Carroll and Stanley M. Sapon and published by the Psychological Corporation, New York, 1965). MLAT is thought by teachers to be a "first-class test" that measures the "aptitude of the pupil to pick up a second language." On the basis of MLAT, the newcomers are divided into three ability groups: the "high flyers," "bottom group," and those in-between. The "bottom group" is deliberately kept small, e.g., 18-20 children, because it is believed that children in this group "need personal attention." The predictions of the MLAT, according to teachers, have always been correct.

Some headmasters wish they could limit entry of non-Welsh-speaking children to 30 a year or get primary schools to give children a test of language aptitude before they send them on. In one Welsh-medium secondary school, the number of English-speaking monoglot children increased dramatically in the last school year, as the following tabulation shows:

| Year | Number of English Monoglots Entering School |
|---|---|
| September 1967 | 8 |
| September 1968 | 14 |
| September 1969 | 25 |
| September 1970 | 36 |
| September 1971 | 15 |
| September 1972 | 17 |
| September 1973 | 80 (total enrollment of school: 700) |

A total of 180 children were admitted to this school in September, 1973; of whom 100 were Welsh-speaking and 80 English-speaking at age 11-plus. Therefore, in the last 4 years, a crash course for learners has been instituted. The headmaster and teachers tend to think that if such high rate of admission of non-Welsh-speakers (about 50% in 1973-74) continues, then there is danger that these children may "change the character of the school," may become a case of the "tail wagging the dog rather than vice versa." Some teachers even suggested to some of the parents of such pupils that their children would be better off spending their time on French or math or any other school subject rather than taking a crash course in Welsh, but to no avail! It seems that as the secondary school acquires proficiency in teaching Welsh to English monoglots--that is, having to do, among other things, the work of the Welsh-medium primary school and succeeding at it--the advent of such children would be more welcome. It should be remembered that the critical increase in their number is a new phenomenon. Given the slow expansion of school facilities in Wales and the ethnic consciousness of Welshmen towards themselves and their language, more parents may send their English-speaking children to secondary Welsh-medium schools without putting them through Welsh-medium primary schools first.

The "Block Program" is a "school within a school." It consists of two years, including summer work. In the first year, the 11 year old entrants get 15 half-hour lessons a week in Welsh alone. The geography and history teachers teach special lessons in these subjects in Welsh to children in the "Block Program." In the second year, the Block is increased to 20 lessons a week, that is, half of these children's timetable is then made up of Welsh or Welsh-medium subjects. It's "a Blitz to learn the basics the first year"--among the subjects a bit "neglected" during the first year, for example, the time devoted to learning French is, for these children, doubled in the second year.

The "Jewish Ulpan Method" is used (the informant pronounced "ulpan" to rhyme with "bull-pen"), that is, the concentrated method originally devised in Israel to teach Hebrew to new immigrants. Technically, the word is pronounced "Ul-pan," that is, with "u" like in "put," the "a" quite long. Usually the method is known as that of the "Israeli Ulpan"; various modifications of it have been adopted in teaching second languages. Some informants think that the word "ulpan" was itself originally a foreign borrowing into Hebrew, but none seems to know its etymology although all know what it means and pronounce it in different ways.

The Welsh reader used by first-year non-Welsh speakers is by Aneurin Jones and Alun Jones, called Siarad Cymraeg (the title of the book is a command, that is, grammatically in the imperative mood, "Speak Welsh") published by Gwasg Gomer in Llandysul, Wales, 1967. It is a book based on research done by the Welsh National Language Unit in Treforest, Pontypridd, Mid-Glamorgan, as mentioned earlier. However, the school itself now has an offset printing press and the staff have begun to prepare their own books for teaching Welsh in the Block Program. For example, they have already prepared

7 books--on literature, history, and grammar to suit the school's needs. A book prepared by this school to keep the first-year Welsh learners in contact with language is called Gwaith Haf ("Summer Work"), which they are supposed to go over during the summer vacation.

On some Saturdays, the children go with their teachers to North Wales and have a chance to speak Welsh all day in a Welsh-speaking environment. But what is, among other things, remarkable about the Block Program is the "Hawthorne Effect," that is, the special attention paid these kids that makes them a cohesive group, a close-knit outfit. Moreover, as soon as their Welsh is passably proficient, they are given a chance to participate in the school assembly which gives them psychological reinforcement. During the two years of the Block Program, their morale is high and they are well-motivated, so are their teachers.

It should be said that these kids, as a school informant put it, "have to cover in one term what in some schools takes 3 years of work roughly."

"The social life of the school is completely in Welsh," yet sometimes the 4th, 5th, and 6th year pupils express their opposition to authority by speaking English among themselves especially on the playground. They get back at authority, the school authority which is Welsh, by not speaking Welsh. "Only the first two years you can hold a carrot to kids to speak Welsh," especially kids in the Block Program, for they are more motivated than the other pupils in the first two years who come to school already as proficient Welsh-speakers.

It can be added that this school helps in a small way in the maintenance of good will and a sense of mutual identity between the Welsh of the Diaspora (Cymry yr Wasgar), as they are called in Welsh, and the Welsh Homeland: there is a summer exchange program between this school and the schools in Utica, New York, one of the largest Welsh concentrations in the United States (another well-known concentration is in Glassboro, New Jersey, scene of a Johnson-Brezhnev accord treaty). The school exchange programs are arranged by the Undeb y Cymry ar Wasgar (Union of Welsh in the Diaspora, or Union of Welsh Overseas).

In the preceding section, we have probably overemphasized the initial attitude of the school administration towards having to cope with a "freshman class" of 180 pupils about half of which is composed of non-Welsh speakers who had omitted going to a Welsh-medium primary school but suddenly wanted to be proficient in Welsh so as to be able to pass external exams in Welsh. The initial irritation of the school administration is quite understandable, though the success of the Block Program and the morale of both teachers and pupils more than compensates for such initial misgivings about the future of the program and the assimilation of the newcomers into the school.

Another "crash course" for newcomers conducted by another Welsh-medium secondary school benefits from two factors: (a) the small number of the entering class--24 (7 boys and 17 girls), and (b) a master teacher, grandfatherly type, 65 years of age, an ex-headmaster himself, who works half-time at this other school. Through drama (episodes from the Bible, in Welsh, e.g., Samuels and God), singing and guitar-playing, lively dialogue about the episodes interpreted by the children concerning the pictures and questions in Siarad Cymraeg, the children learn the patterns of the Welsh language through questions and participation rather than through a dry discussion of grammar. The same teacher teaches the same children not only Welsh but history and geography lessons through the medium of Welsh. One rarely comes across a teacher who is so loved by children and who can vary his moods and theirs to kid them, make them laugh, keep their attention, and get the best out of them! In the opinion of the teacher himself, he has had in his experience much more success teaching Welsh as a second language to kids age 11 than to kids age 15. But the remarkable thing is the "cultural content" conveyed in a mere lesson on language, the "Welshness" (Cymreictod) content embedded in story and song.

What the Crash Course or Block Program conveys to English monoglots is self-confidence in the use of language and a bridge unto the Welsh past as well as present.

### Compensatory Welsh & Compensatory Welshness

In an English-medium secondary school in Wales, located in a Welsh-speaking area where more and more parents are beginning to speak English to their children, the headmaster and teachers are faced with a 50-50 linguistic split in the school: 50% of the children are English-speakers; the social life of the school cannot be fully conducted in Welsh though the school staff are very much pro-Welsh. The linguistic split is along rural-urban lines: rural pupils speak Welsh, town pupils speak English (the school has a wide catchment area). The headmaster is trying to give the school "more of a Welsh aura by making as many parts of the life of the school to be in Welsh."What he calls "fringe activities" have a Welsh component: (a) the morning assembly is bilingual; (b) announcements in the hall are in Welsh and English, and (c) when teachers speak individually with pupils, Welsh is used. "This is the way we try to compensate: teaching them through the medium of Welsh is a primary fact, but whatever you do on the fringe is to compensate" (11/8/73 Field Notes). This school may set up a "Welsh stream" later on--a Welsh-medium program within the overall English-medium curriculum.

Currently, a sense of Welshness through language, a sense of self-confidence anchored in language, a sense of identity through consciousness of language and history is imparted in Welsh-medium primary and secondary schools, not in English-medium schools located in areas where Welsh is spoken but not used as an instrument for socialization, for enculturation under school auspices.

## F. Stereotypes about Welsh-Medium Schools

We have alluded to the positive stereotypes about Welsh-medium schools, e.g., the seemingly negative one which is rather more positive than negative, that is, that they are "snob" schools, meaning that the "best people" or "professional people" send their children to them. This stereotype, it should be added, is mostly held by pro-Welsh Welshmen including the staff of Welsh-medium schools!

However, there are negative stereotypes held about Welsh-medium schools. Because Welsh-medium schools are commonly called "Welsh schools" in Wales whereas English-medium schools are just "schools," some headmasters report that booksellers sometimes call them up and mistakenly wonder whether _they_--being, after all, "Welsh schools"--are interested in English books. "Welsh schools" are, of course, _bilingual_ schools and do teach English, use English as a medium of instruction for some subjects, and use references in English even when the medium of instruction is Welsh.

In November, 1973 when Princess Ann was to wed Captain Mark Phillips (the wedding was set for November 20th), some of the Welsh-medium schools as well as some of the pro-Welsh Welsh received telephone calls or were asked face-to-face by some anti-Welsh Welsh whether the "Welsh schools" were going to close on the Royal wedding day (it had been declared a school holiday throughout Britain). These calls or inquiries were a form of mild harassment or teasing, a questioning of the patriotism and sense of allegiance of the pro-Welsh Welsh.

Some of the anti-Welsh Welshmen as well as some of the Englishmen living in Wales think that teachers in Welsh-medium schools ("Welsh schools") are "Welsh nationalists" and that these schools are "hotbeds of nationalism." In this context, "nationalists" and "nationalism" are made to connote fanaticism and aggression. Because of this bad connotation and because until recently economic sanctions in matters of hiring, promotion, and tenure were applied against those suspected of being "nationalists," the staff of Welsh-medium schools and the pro-Welsh Welsh in general are sensitive about this word and the tone in which it is uttered. To them, nationalism is simply patriotism, pride in their country, and service to their language. To this may be added what is discussed outside, not inside the schools: a quest for a measure of autonomy in their own affairs, the effort to bring about "devolution" and decentralization.

As has been said earlier in this report, Welsh nationalism is more cultural than political; it is non-violent; it is focused on the Welsh language as its central manifestation; in a world of racism and racialism, it is remarkably non-racist and non-racialist, for it defines the Welshman on the basis of domicile and language (he who lives in Wales and is well-disposed to its language), not Welsh "blood." Welsh nationalism is a matter of nationality, of ethnic--not racial--identity. In this regard, what is important about Welsh-medium schools is that they are agencies for building self-confidence in the student, for increasing his awareness of his cultural heritage, for making language (Welsh) an essential part of his self-confidence. It is thus that Welsh-medium schools can be seen as an instrument for cultural regeneration, for resurgence.

In Wales, cultural identity is determined by the linguistic situation. In Welsh-medium schools, such identity is fostered through the study of poetry (cf. the various hiraeth or cultural-longing poems, e.g., "Hon"), through literature, drama, music, and history. History is a vehicle well-suited to turning the past into present and vice-versa, for anchoring the person in context, for Welshification, Anglicization, Americanization, or Germanization, as the school may be. In the next chapter we turn our attention to the history syllabus and some of the issues of teaching history especially in Welsh-medium schools.

# CHAPTER VII

# CATECHISM FOR IDENTITY:
# THE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN SCHOOLS

As stories and prejudices, history has a long past; as a scientific field, it has a short history. Indeed, history can be said to be an "imperial" science, that is, one of the fields enshrined in the 19th century European university to facilitate national coherence and promote overseas expansion and consolidation. Germany, a latecomer to the Imperial Game in the latter half of the 19th century, did a lot to promote the writing of history as an expression of national destiny. When consolidationist and expansionist nation-states built compulsory systems of education after 1870, it was natural enough to include the teaching of history, of the "tribal" sort of history, as an important part of the curriculum. By definition, state schools (called "public schools" in America) are agencies of affirmation and justification where the nationalist version of history, the edited record of the dominant group, can only be taught.

History, some say, has come a long way from the superstitions and anti-Persian diatribes of Herodotus and the somewhat universalistic ethos of Thucydides (cf. the famous funeral oration attributed to Pericles in Thucydides's record of the Peloponnesian Wars) to the humanistic outlook of some 19th and 20th century historians (cf. Theodor Mommsen and Marc Bloch) and finally to the post-1945 Freudianization, quantification and computerization of historical data especially engaged in by a new breed of American historians (some rather fondly call statistics as applied to history "Cliometrics," thereby making their historical Muse, Clio, a number-eating contraption). The issue is that in a world of competing nation-states and amorphous mass societies, objectivity in history and the writing of history continues to be at worst a delusion and at best a semi-controllable subjectivity.

Voltaire, in a celebrated aphorism, has called history "lies agreed upon." Henry Ford, the father of the assembly-line and the mass production emanating therefrom, is reputed to have said "all history is bunk." We prefer to call history "official mythology," that is, the official mythology of a particular society and a particular dominant group (Khleif, 1971:151). We are mindful of the fact that all history is unfinished history, that the same historical account continues to be re-written by successive generations. A saint, as Ambrose Bierce, an American wit, has concisely written is a "dead sinner, revised and edited"! In rewriting history, demons may become saints, and vice-versa.

The historian is a spokesman for a particular era and social order, a particular nation-state. As Edward Hallett Carr (1973:35-36), the well-known British historian, has noted, "The historian is....a social phenomenon, both the product and the conscious or unconscious spokesman of the society to which he belongs; it is in this capacity that he approaches the facts of the historical past. We sometimes speak of the course of history as a 'moving procession.'.... New vistas, new angles of vision, constantly appear as the procession--and the historian with it--moves along. The historian is part of history. The point in the procession at which he finds himself determines his angle of vision over the past." A sociology of knowledge needs to be focused on both historians and history, on what historians produce as history, on history as a social product even in "commodity" terms. The historian is a spokesman for a particular dominant or emergent group.

In the early 19th century, history was an aristocratic subject, fit for the upper classes to study. As Lord Chesterfield remarked, "An intimate knowledge of history, my dear boy, is absolutely necessary for the legislator, the orator and the statesman, who thence deduce their morals and examples, speaking and judging of the present, and by it the past, prognosticating the future" (Lord Chesterfield, Letters from a Nobleman to His Son, 1810 edition, page 174, cited in Chancellor, 1970:18).

In Britain, the 1832 Reform Bill marked the end of aristocratic power and the rise of the professional and commercial middle classes. As a result, the Civil Service was opened to competitive examination; advancement became less a matter of aristocratic connection and more a matter of ability and training. Educational qualifications became a means of "getting on." History, from being aristocratic, became middle-classicized; the study of history was deemed necessary preparation for a particular career (for a long time, it should be remembered, the viceroys sent by the British to govern India were thought to have been adequately prepared for their job on the basis of having read Aristotle's Nicomachian Ethics). The study of history, according to Herbert Spencer, the evolutionist and social Darwinist, was to elucidate for the pupil the "causes of social progress" (Chancellor, 1970:20).

From being thought to be mainly of use to the upper classes of society, history in the 19th century acquired a utilitarian value for the aspiring middle classes, that is, those bent on improving their position by "ability and industry." In the early 19th century, authors of history books took it for granted that people stayed within their social stations; in the latter part of that century, such authors began to stress social mobility. As Chancellor shows (1970:30-32), when the English middle classes rose into political power, they rewrote history:

> (a) The gentry's earlier "moral superiority" was replaced by their "frivolous extravagance." The landed gentry were clearly depicted as a class in decline. The commercial classes were depicted as more trustworthy than the aristocracy; in the second half of the 19th century, they received almost uniformly favorable treatment in history books.
>
> (b) In the latter part of the 19th century, the commercial classes, in contradistinction with the nobility and landed gentry, were identified with the love of liberty. The triumph of liberty in England, a name that symbolized all of Britain especially in the 19th century, was thought by the authors of an 1861 history book (Scott and Farr, History of England) to be inevitable, so

firmly linked to the dominance of the middle classes: "....But now that commerce was introduced liberty soon followed; for there never was a nation that was perfectly commercial that submitted long to slavery" (quoted by Chancellor, 1970:31).

In some textbooks, the progress of the middle classes was considered a triumph of civilization: "Thus it came about that England, which was once a land of savages, is now, as it were, the great shop or market of the world" (Cassells Simple Outline of English History, 1884:10, emphasis added, a rare confession in the age of Empire--quoted by Chancellor, 1970:31). The self-adulation of the middle classes was expressed in an American sort of way (as Britishers may at times be inclined to say) by a turn-of-the-century author: "Henceforward the new trading (or middle) class grew in influence and wealth until it became what it now is, the heart and brains of the nation" (King Edward, 1901:75, quoted by Chancellor, 1970:31--note the label "trading" as a synonym for the middle class). An 1880 textbook celebrated self-reliance almost in current American school textbook terms, but without its usual culturally-sanctioned components of over-individualism and competitiveness: "We have looked through English history and find that there never was a time when ability, backed by industry and uprightness, would not raise a man to full power, renown and influence. This is more than ever the case now, when the means of learning are within the reach of all, for there are no obstructions in the way" (C.M. Yonge, English History Reading Books, Vol. 5, 1880:254, emphasis added--quoted in Chancellor, 1970:32).

What of those below the new middle class, called "labouring classes" by themselves and "manufacturing population," "dependent classes," "lower orders or inferior ranks of society," "the poor," "the people," "the working class," or even "other human creatures" (cf. Chancellor, 1970:33)? Were they ever included in history, printed history? The answer is that for most of the 19th century, those below the middle classes were deliberately excluded from any honorable mention in history books, considered "lower" classes, or "common" people who needed, above all, "moral improvement." Throughout the 19th century, the school textbooks depicted the "poor," the most general label given those not aristocracy or middle class, as being slothful, promiscuous, feckless, immoral, wasteful, and self-indulgent (Chancellor, 1970:21, 33). In many textbooks, the poor appear "not only as idle and improvident, but also somewhat dangerous and insolent" (Chancellor, 1970:35, emphasis added). By "insolent" is meant not knowing their place. One of the purposes of compulsory education was to "civilise" the lower classes, that is, render them non-dangerous. Even with the 1870 Education Act (also known as the Forster Act), some writers seem to have continued to fear that the "children and their parents will carry the tradition of working-class sloth and self-indulgence to the point of not appreciating or benefiting from the education offered" (Chancellor, 1970:36-37, emphasis added).

In 19th century England, the poor seem to have been victimized and slanderized, the objects of deliberate defamation.

From reading Chancellor and the sources she quotes, it seems that the 1870 Education Act was meant to be, to put it in modern terms, a sort of "pacification program" for the poor, deliberate "counter-insurgency"! Because W. E. Forster, in defending the Education Bill of 1870 was reputed to have said, inter alia, with reference to the lower classes of society, "now we have given them political power we must not wait any longer to give them education," some people have suspected that the "growth of the state system of education in England was closely connected with the desire to mould working-class opinions into non-revolutionary and 'respectable' patterns which would leave the upper classes free to govern and to maintain their position in society in a supposedly democratic era" (Chancellor, 1970:7-8). In the U.S.A., it may be added, the rise of compulsory education in the nineteenth century was associated with the argument of enlightment and good citizenship along the hopes and wishes of Thomas Jefferson; more realistically, with the desire for a disciplined and literate work force for America's industrial expansion especially after the Civil War (cf. Michael Katz, 1968 and 1972). That is, ideology followed practice; Jefferson, the needs of the factory.

In state schools in Britain, history was made a compulsory subject in 1900. This perhaps was part of "civilising" the poor. "When power had partly passed to the upper middle classes, their standards were held as the ideal and only towards the end of the period were expressions of disapproval and contempt for the lower classes even modified" (Chancellor, 1970:139-140, emphasis added). The two nations of England that Disraeli had alluded to continued to be described in school textbooks as the "solid middle class" vs. the "improvident poor." However, "as the First World War approached, even the working class, once reviled as feckless and dangerous, were treated with more respect--not surprisingly since commercial convenience obviously dictates that no writer abuse his reader too openly. The authors of textbooks remained overwhelmingly middle class but they were often writing for the elementary school market where not only children, but teachers, too, came from the lower classes" (Chancellor, 1970:37, emphasis added)--the "lower classes" called by Robert Lowe in a speech in the House of Commons on the passing of the 1867 Reform Bill the "future masters," that is, the newly enfranchised lower classes who are to be trained to use their political power judiciously, the "masters" in Valerie Chancellor's book title, History for Their Masters. What Robert Lowe actually said was: "I believe it will be absolutely necessary that you should prevail on our future masters to learn their letters"; what he has been popularly remembered to have said is: "We must educate our masters!" (Chancellor, 1970:title page).

A contemporary "We must educate our masters" sort of approach, one reminiscent of nineteenth-century England in berating the "improvident poor," is provided by an American millionaire, C. Whiteman Burden (note his colonial, Kipling-inspired name). Under the general heading, "Our Neglected Rich," and next to a Roman Emperor type of sketch portraying a steady gaze and a demeanor of aggressive confidence, Newsweek Magazine has carried the following remarks on the state of the world and the sweep of history, remarks under the following headline:

> C. WHITEMAN BURDEN, Diplomat, philanthropist, art collector, bibliophile, Légion d'honneur, Society of the Cincinnati, turf figure
>
> "What our citizens need is a sense of history," affirms Mr. Burden, who is in many ways a piece of living history himself. "With the long and generous view of the historical perspective, the peculiar eccentricities of the moment become much less significant. I strongly advocate giving the jobless texts describing the founding of our great nation. What better time to get our people into the panorama of our past than now? A good scholar is a hungry scholar and that requirement is generously filled by this present insignificant drop in the great bucket of American history. The unemployed and the underfed would both be better off in a library than whining in the streets, which, by the way, are utterly filthy.
>
> As for how we got into this mess, I would just like to point out that my own present comfort, financial comfort, is the result of a very simple, basic economic rule that would have kept every American out of financial straits had they stuck to it. The rule is: don't dip into capital. Spend only income. Except for my great-aunt Hattie in Paris in '78, no member of my family has touched capital since 1697 when Isaak Burden made it a rule to be followed. None of us has regretted our ancestor's sage advice and I offer it up freely to the American people of today

> who, no matter how unattractive, are, after all, the heirs of our forefathers" (NEWSWEEK, March 31, 1975, emphasis added).

It is not only that, internally, in the writing of history certain social classes are included and others excluded but also that, externally, certain nations and ethnic groups are included, others excluded. There is, however, a high positive correlation between the internal ethnic stratification of a given country and its view of ethnic groups outside it, that is, the ethnic classification system of a given country tends to be one and the same as used both internally and externally, e.g., the position of non-Whites in the American ethnic ranking scheme. In 19th century history textbooks in England, England was the British Isles, the Scots, Welsh, and Irish considered subordinate, almost "inferior races." We have already referred to the 1847 English defamation of the Welsh, known as the Brad, the "Betrayal of the Blue Books." There tends to be a high degree of similarity between the ethnic ranking of a given country and its social classes, so that the "poor" of 19th century Britain were also considerably non-English, i.e., Celts.

In addition to the social-class emphasis reflected in history textbooks, the growth of nationalism, especially in the second half of the 19th century, was reflected in these textbooks in the "stress on national greatness and the glories of imperialism" (Chancellor, 1970:141). Popular textbooks were used for decades, the son being exposed to what his own father had read in school. The nationalism that buttressed

British imperialism seemed to have been obsessed with justifying things on moral grounds. "The power which England enjoyed over 'less fortunate' races was considered to be a proof of righteousness or of divine approval....(Chancellor, 1970:140, emphasis added). A most interesting book on the way English and other European colonizers viewed the rest of the world, the "less fortunate races," in the Victorian Age is that of V. G. Kiernan (1972), provocatively entitled The Lords of Human Kind.

It can be said that during the age of imperialism, roughly 1870-1918, Britons tended to think of themselves as latter-day Romans, Frenchmen as latter-day Athenians. Perhaps even now, with post-1945 Russian and American ascendancy, they continue to think of themselves that way. The point is that some English historians seemed to develop personal animosity towards the enemies of Rome--witness the "put-downs" and great dislike Cyril E. Robinson, in his History of the Roman Republic (1965), seems to have for Hannibal and the Carthaginians! Britons, however, seem to have, according to some Canadians, close competitors, for as a popular Canadian anthology has it, the Americans are the "New Romans" (Purdy, 1968).

As a result of what may be termed the White Peril, the colonial expansionism of Europe from 1519 (date of Magellan's trip around the world--he wasn't only sightseeing) until 1945 (the post-World War II rise of independent states in the Third World), the history of the globe has been basically written by colonial elites from Europe, agents of the socio-economic overflow that engulfed Asia, Africa, and the New World. Ever since 1945, a major task facing newly independent nations has been to de-colonize their history, to present a native version of what had happened, to look for instances of success in a suppressed past, to discover native history (cf. Balandier, 1951 and 1966). In the words of a book by Ajayi and Espie entitled A Thousand Years of West African History, ".... African history must be the history of the African peoples and not merely the activities of their invaders from Europe and Asia" (1967:Foreword). Part One of the book, The Growth of African Civilization: West Africa, 1000-1800 (Davidson, et al., 1965), is assertively entitled "Five Dynamic Centuries: A.D. 1000-1500,"a part preoccupied with what can be termed "looking to the past for a sense of glory." A book by Webster, Boahen, and Idowu used in African schools, entitled The Growth of African Civilization (1968), has some interesting explaining to do, a focus on reinterpretation. Examples are:

(a) An expressive map dealing with the dismemberment of Africa among 5 European powers (French, British, German, Portuguese, and Belgians) is coolly captioned "The major directions of European ambition during the scramble for Africa" ("ambition"?) --p. 236. The map is part of a chapter entitled "Partition," the sub-title of which is a well-known African quotation: "A forcible possession of our land has taken the place of a forcible possession of our persons" (Chapter 15, pp. 228-240).

(b) An expressive relief from Abomey, West Africa, showing a White soldier sticking what appears to be a heavy-looking awesome machine-gun into a Black African's face right under his nose, an African armed with a bow and no arrows, is intended eloquently to show the superior armaments of White soldiers and the futility of resistance in the face of European invasion. The chapter is entitled "Collapse of Independence"; it also has a seemingly well-known saying as its subtitle: "The Maxim-gun inspires the most profound respect" (Chapter 16, pp. 241-256).

(c) A linkage between Africa and Europe is provided through an explanation of colonialism: "Until the middle of the nineteenth century the British held a near-monopoly of the manufactured goods of the world. Among the European nations the British thus had the greatest need for the raw materials of Africa....The idea that the imperial objective is commercial profit is the theory of economic imperialism" (p. 233).

The implications of (a), (b), and (c) above for the "forcible possession of our persons" and the freedom therefrom, that is, for reassertion of national identity, are quite clear.

Part of the trend of decolonization and reassertion of African identity is not only to teach about the history of a given country, a post-1945 nation-state whose history had been traditionally presented as a small part of European or African history, but to teach about large areas, e.g., to take East Africa or West Africa as units. There is an emphasis on regionalism in rewriting African history (Ogot and Kieran, 1968, on East Africa; Webster, _et al_., 1968, and others already mentioned on West Africa).

A major preoccupation of Africans in their rewriting of history is explanation of the slave trade and its place in the economy of Britain (e.g., the prosperity of such cities as Liverpool and Bristol),not to mention North and South America. An example is the series of papers published by the Historical Association of Tanzania, among which is the monograph entitled West Africa and the Atlantic Slave-Trade (Rodney, 1970).

It should be mentioned that some of the authors of the aforementioned textbooks on African history are "expatriate teachers," pro-African White Britons who have settled or are teaching in Africa and have teamed up with native African scholars to write these books.

Like a number of countries in Africa, Wales and similar Third-World regions in the First World, regions experiencing cultural resurgence and a sense of national identity, are currently engaged in de-colonizing their history, a subject we have already touched upon in various parts of this report. But we shall later on in this chapter deal with the teaching of history in Welsh-medium schools as a special topic.

In Brittany, where the Breton language cannot be spoken on school grounds, school children have stories in their textbooks about "The Good Little Parisian," but nothing about themselves or their history. Although they currently have no history texts that they have self-consciously begun to decolonize, they are becoming "excessively proud of what they were once taught to be ashamed of" (Milner, 1973:198).

Their discovery of their identity is beginning not in relation to French state schools but in higher education, e.g., at Nantes University. Becoming a Breton, becoming conscious of the deliberate French process of being systematically rendered historyless, is a process of self-discovery. For some, it is a painful and exhilarating journey (cf. Morvan Lebesque, Comment Peut-on Être Breton?, 1970, and "Becoming a Breton," 1973).

In the United States, the Black Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's has led, as a contributing factor, to the resurgence of ethnicity among such non-Anglo White groups as Poles, Italians, Greeks, Jews, the Irish, and even the Swedes (the latter, for a long time thought to have been pot-melted in the American melting pot) and among non-White groups such as Blacks, Indians, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, and Chicanos (Mexican-Americans). Sociological minority groups, such as women, have also begun to assert their identity and to seek liberation from the symbolic system that supports psychological and economic oppression. This has meant attacking the textbooks, "cleaning them up."

Among American Indians, the efforts at what may be termed "decolonizing American history" regarding themselves are part of the activities of the American Indian Historical Society (1451 Masonic Avenue, San Francisco, California 94117), e.g., through their monthly newspaper, Wassaja. Among American Blacks (the U.S.A. is the second largest Black nation in the world, the first being Nigeria, as some Blacks like to assert in relation to their number in the population), one of the most outstanding efforts is being carried out by the Council on Interracial Books for Children (1841 Broadway, New York, New York 10023) and their publications, Interracial Books for Children, which appears 8 times a year, and Interracial Digest, which represents an ad hoc selection from the former. Among non-Anglo Whites, some of the well-known efforts in the last few years have been, for example, those of Michael Novak (1972), The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics, which deals with Slovaks and others; Peter Schrag (1972), The Decline of the WASP, which, among others, deals with Jews and Catholics; and T. C. Wheeler, ed. (1972), The Immigrant Experience, and J. A. Ryan, ed. (1973), White Ethnics, which deal with Italians, Irish, Slavs, and others.

For a more detailed review of the literature dealing with how various American ethnic groups have been depicted in American history books, see, for example, Khleif (1972), and Reynolds and Reynolds (1974).

In Britain, a well-known manufacturer of jams and preserves, Robertson's, uses a Golliwog as a trade mark, that is, a caricature of a Black African. Blacks in Britain, euphemistically called "Immigrants" by Whites, resent the Golliwog way of assertion of White superiority. In the U.S.A., some families use large porcelain figurines representing minstrel-show Negroes with donkeys and carts to decorate their backyards and lawns. In the same way, Whites have continued to employ Indians as mere decorations for advertising purposes. The Shawmut Bank of Boston uses a sculpture of an

Indian as a trade mark; in most of the U.S., the cigar-store Indian has been a familiar advertising symbol. One wonders what happens if Blacks and Indians begin to employ Whites as objects for derision, decoration, or advertising, e.g., a bust of Nixon or an earlier President for the lawn, garden, neighborhood store, or other uses. If certain groups are shown in a demeaning way outside the school--in advertising and commerce, they tend to be shown the same way inside the school, in textbooks; that is, they tend not to be taken seriously inside or outside the school.

If we think of society as being essentially a group of competitive groups in temporary balance (Park and Burgess, 1921:665), then we can comprehend how change is quite often accomplished by future generations of a suppressed group seeking to alter the balance, the treaty between unequals, and rewriting the symbolic basis for it, that is, rewriting history. A measure of equality brings about a reconceptualization, a reworking of history. As R. H. Tawney has said,

> ....The discovery of the reconciling formula is always left to future generations in which passions have cooled into curiosity and agonies of peoples have become the exercise in the schools. The devil who builds bridges does not span such chasms till much that is precious to mankind has vanished down them for ever.

## HISTORY AND HISTORY-AND-ANTHROPOLOGY PROJECTS

Currently, there are various projects in Britain dealing with development of history materials for use especially in secondary schools. In the words of a 1967 H.M.S.O. pamphlet entitled Towards World History, "different kinds of historical study are relevant for different generations" (1967:7). Two guiding principles are being discussed: (a) that in the words of Wendell Wilkie, "We are now all members of One World," and (b) that in the words of Geoffrey Barraclough, in his Introduction to Contemporary History, "....when the history of the first half of the twentieth century--which, for most historians, is still dominated by European wars and European problems.... comes to be written in a larger perspective, there is little doubt that no single theme will prove to be of greater importance than the revolt against the west" (Towards World History, 1967:7, 21), that is, the rise of the Third World. However, these two guiding principles are more talked about than honored, for history teaching continues to be narrowly nationalistic. In 1973, a conference of Common Market educators, teacher trainers, and intellectuals was held at Zurich to deal with removing national bias from European history textbooks, but, obviously, this is only a start: in a world dominated by nationalism and nation-states, one's version of history continues to be the supremely valid one.

History used to be considered wisdom taught by the historian, but now history teachers consider it a more complex thing: giving students a chance to get at the truth. Hence, plenty of sources are needed by students to consult, not a mere simple story found in one or two texts. David Elton, a professor of history at Cambridge University, is of the opinion that history cannot be taught to pupils less than 16 years of age, because such pupils cannot fully understand causation, reasons for action, or motivation. Others, with vested interests in younger age groups as learners worthy of exposure to history, disagree with him. The debate goes on.

Some of the projects dealing with the teaching of history are the following:

(a) Schools Council 13-16 Project on the Teaching of History in Schools, Leeds Institute of Education, Leeds.

(b) Projects undertaken by the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) History & Social Science Centre, London.

(c) Projects undertaken by the Historical Association, 59-A Kennington Park Road, London. (This Association has, among other things, an extensive collection of history textbooks.)

(d) Schools Council Project entitled "Integrated Course in English and Welsh History," Glamorgan College of Education, Buttrills Road, Barry, Glamorgan, South Wales--a project we discussed in detail in the preceding chapter.

(e) Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI) Teaching Resources Project, London--a project essentially concerned with the teaching of anthropology in combination with history or other subjects but has relevance to the way ethnic images are historically or contemporarily presented.

(f) Humanities Project, School Resources Centre, Gosford Hill School and Oxfordshire Education Committee, Kidlington, Oxfordshire--a history and anthropology project concerned with developing teaching materials for ages 11-16, e.g., such booklets as "The Masai of Africa," "The Aborigines of Australia," "Civil Rights, Black America," "Race Relations in Britain," and "Urbanization and Urban Studies," as well as various units on different topics.

(g) Projects undertaken by individual history teachers focused on preparation of systematically organized units of study dealing with contemporary history or local history, projects resulting in mimeographed or lithographed materials available for limited distribution--e.g., projects at Gosford Hill School, Kidlington, Oxon.; Barry Comprehensive School, Barry, Glamorgan, Wales; Llanedeyrn School, Cardiff. These are projects at English-medium schools. Individual teachers at some of the Welsh-medium schools have similar projects.

## THE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN WELSH-MEDIUM SCHOOLS

Wales has a two thousand year old history, replete with names of persons that are emphasized to pupils as social models, as a source of pride and identification. An H.M.S.O. publication presents a partial list, suitable for the elementary school, a list that emphasizes the child's knowledge of his Bro (region or vale, equivalent to "hollow" in White Appalachian usage) as a precondition for knowledge of Wales and beyond:

> In history few schools in Wales are far from ancient monuments, farms and places, roads and fields that can light up a page of history. What region bears no mark or reminder of invaders by land and sea? The map of Wales still witnesses to the passage of prince and abbot, warrior and pilgrim, Puritan and Methodist; in a small country the study of almost any locality can be the study of the nation's history in miniature.

> The child can therefore early become familiar with his country's past through an expanding knowledge of his home and neighbourhood, his 'bro.' At the same time he cannot but hear the great legends and folklore of Wales--stories of King Arthur, the Mabinogion, the legends of Cantre'r Gwaelod (the Lowland Hundred) and of Llyn y Fan. He will know the life of St. David and something of his great influence. Then will come the stories of leaders of men, from Caradog to Glyn Dwr, including Hywel Dda, Gruffyd ap Llywelyn, Owain Gwynedd, the Lord Rhys and the two Llywelyns. In his picture gallery will be seen courtier adventurers of Elizabethan days; the Welsh martyrs Protestant and Catholic, Bishop Morgan, Morgan Llwyd, Dr. Richard Price, Hywel Harris, Morgan John Rhys, 'Rebecca and her daughters,' Mary Jones, and a host of others. Moreover he can become a spectator at great events: he will attend the conference which Hywel Dda summoned to Hen-dŷ-gwyn-ar-Dâf, the 'National' Eisteddfod of 1176, the Parliament at Machynlleth, and join the little class with Griffith Jones in the church porch at Llanddowror. Nor will he lack experience of the 'timeless moment' if he can stand with Caradog when he refused to bow to his Imperial conqueror, or if he can overhear that Welshman of Pencader challenging the Norman might of Henry II or Glyn Dwr revealing his identity to his host, Sir Lawrence Berkrolles at Coity (Primary Education, H.M.S.O., 1959:325-326--part of a chapter contributed by a group of Her Majesty's Inspectors in Wales).

Some teachers in Wales, paradoxically enough, teach about Roman Britain, but quote locations of Roman ruins in England when their own school is only a few miles away from Caerleon, a famous Roman site near Newport, Wales, containing rather well-preserved Roman barracks and amphitheatre. Such is the bias of English history books used in Wales, as informants have asserted, that Caerleon is not mentioned by any textbook. (The name "Caerleon," inter alia, is linguistically interesting in itself, "Caer" meaning fort--perhaps a corruption of the Latin word "castra," camp, which survives in English place names as "shire"--and "leon" meaning legion, that is, the fort of the legion.) For Welsh schools, England-oriented history textbooks make the far near, but the near too far.

How does Welsh history figure out in the teaching of history in general in the schools of Wales? In the largest city of Wales, Cardiff, for example, Welsh history is a tiny proportion of an "O" level history (Cardiff has no Welsh-medium secondary schools). Because rural Wales tends to be of marginal concern to a number of teachers in Cardiff, what they tend to emphasize is industrial Wales and the Industrial Revolution in Wales. The Welsh medieval history, the tribal history of Wales, continues to be very shadowy, hardly touched upon. In history textbooks, Wales and the Welsh receive the following mention:

1. The Welsh archers at Agincourt and their skill.
2. The effect of the Act of Union of 1536--the legal language in Wales to be English, English as the language of administration and the law courts; the Act of 1536 as an act of tyranny, the terrible demise of national identity.
3. The 18th century Methodist revival; the 19th century sectarian controversies.

4. The Industrial Revolution--the intimate association between class and non-conformity in industry; the pauperization of the Welsh.
5. Rural depopulation in Wales during the Industrial Revolution and after.

Several informants have emphasized that in school no pupil would write on Welsh nationalism in the 20th century for two reasons: (a) because of basic lack of history textbooks dealing with the subject, and (b) because the subject itself is too "political." A favorite conversation practice of some anti-Welsh and pro-English teachers is to single out Plaid Cymru (the National Party of Wales) for a bit of slander, e.g., that because Plaid Cymru did not have wide Welsh support, it was forced to advance as a candidate a Scotsman, a resident of Wales, to run in an important local election, that at one time it even had a Black, Joseph Abdey, as a prominent member, and so forth. (Cardiff, as a port, also has a tiny Black community--composed of third-generation descendants of seamen, West Indians and some Africans--the most famous member of which is currently the rather popular Black singer, Shirley Bassey.)

English-medium schools in Wales have been called by some Welshmen "tools of English rule"; the external examination system (C.S.E., "O" level, and "A" level), "the examination system of the enemy." In Britain, universities tend to influence secondary schools more directly and more extensively than in America, especially with regard to the academic or college-preparatory curriculum. So far, as informants have pointed out, universities in Britain--including the four constituent colleges of the University of Wales--have refused to acknowledge the study of Welsh history as a discipline. The university student is not allowed to "do a degree in Welsh history." Professors of history, being pro-English and at times anti-Welsh, say that Welsh history is "too narrow," that the student can specialize in something called "Wales and the World in the Past 100 Years," but not in Welsh history per se. The Department of Welsh History is not honours: the student can take "Welsh and Welsh History," but not Welsh History separately; he or she cannot do "single honours" in Welsh History, only "joint honours" in "Welsh and Welsh History." It is, as informants point out, the university perspective of London and Oxbridge.

Such an attitude percolates down to secondary schools. At the "O" level, hardly any school develops its own syllabus, so the external-exam syllabus remains unchanged. For purposes of examination, there are ready-made secondary-school syllabi to choose from, e.g., the syllabi and examination regulations of the University of London; Southern Universities' Joint Board for School Examinations; the Joint Matriculation Board of the Universities of Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, and Birmingham; and so forth. There is no "O" level paper on the history of Wales; the main theme is the development of England and Britain, and, in the same section, one question on Wales, not more than two at any rate. Here, as informants have stressed, the concept of "England and Wales" seems to undermine Welsh identity, to kill feelings of a separate Welsh identity. (One of the most irritating things to Welshmen is, when looking up information about their country, to find the notation, "For Wales, see England.") As some Welshmen have pointed out, their desire for specialization in Welsh history is similar to the desire of the Blacks in the United States to advance the cause of "Black Studies"; both stem from a feeling of forcibly submerged identity.

The aforementioned applies with particular force to English-medium schools in Wales, a bit more than it applies to Welsh-medium ones. In the latter schools, teachers are perhaps more conscious of issues of teaching history and their linkage to identity.

It should be pointed out that at both the university and secondary-school level in Britain, teaching history is an honorable occupation, a source of prestige and elitism, a manifestation of the traditional prominence of the humanities (in the U.S., especially at the university level, those who have "science" in their label, the "social scientists," have tended to push the humanists into the background). Quite often in Wales, headmasters and deputy headmasters are, when it comes to original occupational specialization, teachers of history and continue to serve partially in that capacity.

What are the objectives and issues of teaching history in Welsh-medium schools, or as a Deputy Head and Head of the Department of History put it, the "searching questions"? The central question in his opinion is: "What kind of heritage do we seek to reflect to the children?" Basically, there are four kinds of heritage to be emphasized: Welsh heritage, British heritage, European heritage, and World heritage--the first three being closely interlinked and the most important. Even in emphasizing Welsh history and its intimate tie with English history, Welsh educators have to contend with the fact that the mass media, especially the cinema and television, have given Welsh pupils a new sort of identification: "they want to associate themselves with all the teenagers of the world." Or, as a language researcher put it, "The great problem is the spread of pop culture: the _youth idols_ are not national figures but people like David Cassidy, the pop singer, and others....The scene which young people regard as enviable is one, unfortunately, _not_ associated with the language or with cultural history....There is not enough Welshness in the community." Therefore, Welsh educators have to make concessions to the new mass culture to which their students are constantly exposed, to the world-engulfing American-based and American-marketed kind of culture. Among other things, this pushes history teachers to go beyond the confines of Wales and Britain, especially in the first four years of secondary school, before the exam fever and exam preparation it demands--specific "set" topics to be covered according to syllabus--begin to absorb the energy and attention of both teachers and pupils in the fifth year and beyond.

_Alors_, what is the role of the history department in a Welsh-medium secondary school in the teaching of history to pupils? "_You try to make them understand the European background, the British contribution to this background, the_ *world beyond, and the Welsh sense of identity in it all*" (3/12/74 Field Notes). Welsh history is viewed within the general sweep of history, from the time of ancient River Civilizations (Egypt and Mesopotamia) onwards. Usually, children in lower forms deal with ancient and medieval history; those in higher forms, with more modern history. The Western way of life is emphasized, the European ties: "Our race really began in a remote area of Asia Minor; it took 300 years to work its way westwards to Iberia and thence to Britain." As is customary in Britain, the Greeks and Romans are emphasized as being the original thinkers. Among other things, the first year of secondary school is concerned with tracing the influence of the Romans in Wales.

For forms 1, 2, and 3, history is often reduced to a story, a dramatization. "The subject lends itself nicely to myth-telling; you arouse the interest of the child in the story. You try to identify the child with the teenagers of the world. He reads stories about Spain, the Song of Roland, and about Spain at the time of Philip II,....about Italy and the Renaissance,....about the European Heritage."

Where does Wales fit in all this? "Over and above this, you have to give them specific knowledge: Wales as a race, as a country, as a tradition; how the Welsh language came from the Brythonic; how Wales was separate from England; the Celtic Fringe; that the old administrative units of Wales were several counties....; that during the 7th century, the first poets using the Welsh language appeared; that from the 9th century to 1282, Wales for a brief period was an independent state....They have reached the 2nd Form when they see this independence lost. As history teachers we should stick to the facts: Llywelyn lost the battle to Edward I; the Statute of Rhuddlan (1282) imposed a degree of Englishness on Wales which had not been there before....The Norman kings set up their earls on land carved out of Wales after 1066....You have Wales formed into a principality, an appendage of the English Crown."

What happened after 1282? How is Welsh history then interpreted? History teachers tend to consider 1282-1536 a golden period in Welsh history, one associated with the most famous Welsh hero, Owain Glyn DŴr (Owen Glendower). "....Owain Glyn DŴr--a nationalist figure with modern day connotations: aspirations for a Welsh Parliament and University, an independent Welsh Church. After some successes he failed, and the cost of the failure was the Penal Code, which means that the Welsh were treated as second-class citizens, experienced a sort of modern-day Apartheid. They could not carry arms....Therefore, the Bards were full of legends, Arthurian legends, that a Welsh prince would come and deliver Wales--a prophetic note realized through Henry VII whose family came originally from Anglesey....But Henry VII was preoccupied with maintaining his throne....He sold "Letters of Denizenship"--citizenship in modern-day language. Purpose: You bought these letters to buy yourself out of the Penal Code....Then we discuss the crisis of Reformation and Henry VIII. The central event of his reign: the Act of Union of 1536....The Act was an attempt at obviating the threat of Spain or French intervention on behalf of Catherine of Aragon (his first wife); against a Catholic Crusade using Wales as a stepping-stone to conquer England...."

In teaching history in Welsh-medium schools, the second aspect of identity to emphasize to students, in addition to Welsh heritage, is their political ties with England. This is done through emphasis on what happened in Wales from 1536 onwards.

"....Thomas Cromwell: Doing away with the Penal Code. From that time on, the Welsh were regarded as having equal rights; their status was raised. On the other hand, Clause 17 of the Act of Union insisted that anybody holding public position in Wales should know the English language....The gentry, in conforming with Clause 17, were going to accept Anglicization....Wales was monoglot at the time; the Welsh almost lost their nationhood. In the 16th and 17th centuries the Welsh Bardic tradition suffered a decline; the language was saved only by translation of the Bible by Bishop Morgan."

What happened to the language (Iaith)? How do Welsh History teachers interpret its historical fortunes? "From the 1540's to mid-eighteenth century, that was the time when the Welsh language declined into various forms of patois. The language was resurrected in the 18th century when the Cornish language disappeared and likewise the Gaelic language. The Welsh language was resurrected via the intense interest in religion and education--through the Methodist Revival and through the schools of Griffith Jones. In the Circulating

Schools, anyone who was taught successfully for 3 months was to turn into a teacher himself. This was a most remarkable thing. It was part of a Calvinistic approach, the saving of the soul, the coping with predestination: you put aside all your material ambitions to look for rewards in the next life ....Hymn singing had a great emotional appeal. Hymn writing flourished. Hymn singing in chapels could go for hours on end....It is as if people were oblivious to the Industrial Revolution and the Agricultural Revolution that were simultaneously taking place...."

What happened in Wales during the Industrial Revolution besides the Methodist Revival? It is as if the essential point for a history teacher to get across could be summarized as encroachment from the outside. In the words of a history teacher, what happened was that "English iron-masters came in--capitalists who saw opportunity to open iron works. They burnt up the trees; because of that, it became necessary to depend on coal. In the 1840's, coal for industry was emerging as a force in its own right. Iron foundries were established between the hinterland and the coast. Formerly, iron ore was imported from Spain--it had a great sulphurous content.... From the 1860's until the years of the Depression, coal was King in the industrial parts of Wales....Wales was so religious that when the French Revolution broke out in 1789, the religious leaders in Wales said, 'Don't bother....It's of no use to you in the next world.' However, by the 1830's things began to change: the Welsh press began publishing radical opinions;

the Baptists and Independents were leaders in this--for example, John Elias. The Welsh press and the religious denominations became a springboard for this awakening."

How is the famous, or rather infamous, 1847 Report, the "Treachery of the Blue Books," interpreted by history teachers? "The English Government in Westminster set up a Commission of Enquiry: Lingen, Symons, and Johnson. Their terms of reference were: to investigate the schools in Wales. This was the first time anything of this kind ever happened. They published their findings in 3 large Blue volumes. There was a sense of treachery in all this: the Commissioners went further than their terms of reference; they probed into the sociological background....and were not qualified to understand the implications of their probing....They would ask their questions in English when the children and their teachers were monoglot Welsh. Their questions were framed in such a way that the answers seemed stupid. Therefore, their conclusion was that educational facilities in Wales were very backward. The Report, the Blue Books, painted a picture of the Welsh language as a source of drunkenness and immorality, that it was the language of Barbarism; it promoted the idea outside Wales that we were a barbaric nation in the throes of civility. Nobody pointed out that there was over a thousand years of literary tradition in Welsh comparable to any literary tradition. Welshmen were measured from the point of view of Englishmen and were found wanting."

What were the consequences of the 1847 Report? "This Report had tremendous importance--it led to political awakening in Wales. Wales turned from being politically obedient to the landlord class, the English-speaking and Established Church members, the class voted by the tenants into power, elected for Parliament. After this Report in 1847, Wales became aware of the kind of European thinking that was going on....1848, the year of revolutions; 1849, General Elections in Wales: more and more tenant farmers refused to vote for their landlords. Therefore, they were evicted....1868, the Liberal candidates supported Gladstone; he was returned to power. From then on, Wales became very Liberal. The Liberals repaid the support Wales had given them....In the 1890's, three University colleges were established....1898, county Grammar schools....National institutions followed: the National Library in Aberystwyth; the Folk Museum at St. Fagan's; the National Museum in Cathays Park, Cardiff--all in that period up to 1900. Wales had found her national identity: Romantic poets began looking back to the past, seeing things through the innocence that was Wales, Wales unblemished by the hand of the foreigner--before she was compromised, so to speak....It was at this time that the Welsh National Anthem was written. 1880-1900, Wales became Liberal, sharing the same sentiments as the Irish in Ireland and the Italians in Italy--all part of this patriotic upsurge, that respect should be given to language and culture, that one's way of life should be respected. But there was very little value placed on Welsh as a medium of instruction ....The 'Welsh Not': at the end of the week, on Friday, the child would be given a sound caning--to discourage use of Welsh. It was a weekly, more than a daily, punishment.... Ifan ab Owen Edwards, the great Welsh educationalist--he very successfully fought for acceptance of Welsh in the school curriculum."

The 19th century was the century of the middle class, the class that established compulsory systems of education to solidify the nation-state and retool its elements in the service of an expanding industrial economy. Industrialization, it should be remembered, made it necessary to incorporate the lower strata of society--lower in socio-economic and in ethnic terms--into the educational system. In other words, the expansion of education and its institutionalization as a state service resulted in part from the demands of an industrial, or an industrializing, society. In the British Isles in 1870, the Education Act (the Forster Act) incorporated the Welsh, among other Celts, into an English-medium state system of education--a system in the service of country, industrialism, and Empire. As W. E. Forster, the father of the 1870 Education Act, himself exhorted school children to keep in mind: "....You ought to remember that the great nation to which you belong, and of which I hope you are all proud, is bigger, far bigger, than the two little islands that make up the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and that it extends everywhere that the English language is spoken by men who live under English law and under the English flag" (published in the Citizen Reader, a book used by the Welsh school children of Blaenau Ffestiniog, Wales, in 1892, and quoted by R. T. Jones, 1974:154-155). This was the age of the "Welsh Not," of industrialization and forced Anglicization, of the ascent of the Liberal Party in British politics.

How did the Welsh fare in the poast-Gladstone and post-Lloyd-George era? Most became pro-Labour, as a Welsh teacher of history explains it. "The Labour Movement came into existence through resurgence of the trade-union movement. Gradually, the problems of industrial Wales pushed everything else into the background; spiritual concerns were overcome by the more material problems; the Welsh coal industry was the heaviest in Europe....There were lock-ups and unemployment. All our eggs were in these large baskets: iron and coal. A decline in one industry brought about great suffering. This is how the Labour Movement grew....By 1926, the year of the General Strike, Wales became totally converted to Labour....In 1911 Churchill called out the troops and tried to impose a sense of discipline on the country; it was a law and order question....We have no love for Churchill....1911 and 1926 pale into insignificance in comparison with 1843, the Chartist Movement, when....many were slain. 1911 and 1926--the suffering was immense but the suffering was common to Britain."

To the Welsh, Churchill's name connotes tyranny, arrogance, and attempts at their humiliation and impoverishment. As an informant put it, "Just as Cromwell is anathema to the Irish, so is Churchill to us." In South Wales, with its memory of generations of suffering in the coal mines, Churchill in the minds of the Welsh is the Supreme Tory, a fanatic despot. No wonder that, when Richard Burton--whose family comes originally from the Carmarthen area (South-central Wales), who himself is a Welsh-speaker, and who was asked to portray Churchill in a 1974 play--was invited to write an article for the New York Times on Churchill, he articulated what many a Welshman feels about Churchill as villain, an intemperance he was subsequently to modify, almost retract.

What of Wales after the Depression and World War II? What would a teacher of history say about it? "After the War years, we had the Welfare State. The Labour Movement was at its height. There was a return to spiritual values....But the language was being eroded by the mass media....and all the world was becoming a local parish and Wales your back garden, so to speak. Having strange neighbours, we became more cosmopolitan....In the Third Form, the children began to think for themselves; they appeared odd to their parents. The children refused to go to chapel; they were like strangers, in friction with their parents....It is no good when families are fighting....We realized we must have a community, and the ideal community was the school....In 1939, Nora Isaac started the first Welsh-medium school in Aberystwyth....In the 1950's, Dr. Haydn Williams, in the county of Flintshire, opened two secondary schools there...." To history teachers in Welsh-medium schools, the new type of Welsh-based schools was to give the post-1945 Welsh generations a sense of community, a sense of more unity than separateness.

It should be added that Welsh schoolmen tend to use the word "spiritual" with much less self-consciousness than their American counterparts, that for them the term still connotes something positive, not vacuous. Indeed, Welsh teachers use some rather religion-tinged or religion-oriented phrases, e.g., "pastoral care" with reference to counseling and guidance and "under the pastoral care of Mr. Richards"--to introduce a person in charge of a program, department, or school activity. In the latter instance, American educationalists (to use a somewhat unwieldy Britishism) would tend to jazz up the impressivity of the occasion by referring to a given school department or program as being "under the leadership of" Mr. Richards. In the same way, perhaps, that a bishop may be addressed as "your Grace," the American schoolman should be addressed as "your Leadership," e.g., "And how is your Leadership today, Mr. Van Winkle?"

## EXAMPLES OF HISTORY SYLLABI IN WELSH-MEDIUM SECONDARY SCHOOLS

We would like to add to our preceding account on the interpretation of Welsh history by history teachers a few examples of the kinds of history syllabi used in Welsh-medium secondary schools.

In the primary school, it should be said, history is not much of a separate topic; it is integrated with reading and other language skills. Some of the popular books used in the primary school with regard to Welsh history are, for example, the following:

(a) Adventures from Wales, by Beryl M. Jones, 5 booklets (published by Hughes & Son, Wrexham, Wales). The series deals with Welsh explorers and adventurers.

(b) Famous Men and Women of Wales, by Beryl M. Jones, 4 booklets ( published by Hughes & Son, Wrexham).

(c) Stories from Welsh History, by H. T. Evans, Junior Books 1 and 2 (published by Hughes & Son, Wrexham).

(d) Wales from Glyn Dŵr to Lloyd George, by Mary McCririck, 2 booklets (published by Gee & Son, Denbigh, North Wales).

(e) Ein Hen, Hen Hanes (Our Old, Old History), by W. Ambrose Bebb (published by Hughes & Son, Wrexham).

Currently, there are 7 Welsh-medium secondary schools in Wales (an eighth is planned to be opened in September, 1976 in Cardiff). Of the seven, one was to be started in September, 1974--Llanharri, in Bridgend, near Cardiff--with an enrollment of 80-90 students the first year; another, Penweddig--in Aberystwyth--was started in September, 1973, with an enrollment of 166 covering only the first two forms. It is for this reason that we shall concentrate on the history syllabi of the other 5 Welsh-medium secondary schools, starting with these schools in the order in which they were established: Glan Clwyd (1956); Maes Garmon (1961); Rhydfelen (1962); Morgan Llwyd (1963); and Ystalyfera (1969).

It should be remembered that although many of the history texts are in English, the language of class discussion, home-work, and external exam is Welsh. At times the content and emphasis is readily apparent from the titles of textbooks, the "set-books" for a given year.

## A. History Syllabus, Glan Clwyd School, St. Asaph, Flintshire

A chronological approach is emphasized: "Systematic History from the year dot to 1974."

1. First Year

From the Stone Age to the beginning of the age of the Princes in Wales, around 800 A.D.

By the end of this year, there is an emphasis on Hywel Dda, the law-maker who lived around 900 A.D. ("These Welsh laws prevailed in Wales until 1536 when Wales was finally incorporated into the United Kingdom.")

Together with Welsh history, the history of Greece and Rome is emphasized; also a general European background.

2. Second Year

800-1500 A.D., to end of Middle Ages. Welsh, British, and European Background.

3. Third Year

1500-1750.

4. Fourth Year

The start of a two-year course for "O" level and C.S.E.

1750-1914.

6. Sixth Year

A two-year course for the 6th Form.

1914-1967, British and General History;

1830-1939, European History.

Some of the textbooks used during the first two years are:

1. A Welsh translation of an English book:
Roderick, A. J. (ed.), Golwg ar Hanes Cymru (Wales through the Ages). Vol. 1: From the Earliest Times to 1485; Vol. 2: From 1485 to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century. Published by Christopher Davies, Llandybie, Carmarthenshire, 1968.

2. A Welsh translation of two English books by David Fraser:

(a) The Invaders, Wales in History, Book I: to 1066; and

(b) The Defenders, Wales in History, Book II: 1066-1485.

The former deals with the Romans and Vikings; the latter, with Welsh Medieval history. The title of The Invaders in Welsh is Y Goresgynwyr; of The Defenders, Yr Amddiffynwyr. Both are published by the University of Wales Press, Cardiff (English as well as separate Welsh version), 1966 and 1967, respectively.

Pupils find the Welsh version of these books very difficult. It seems that the purists in matter of language won over those with a more common-sense approach. The Invaders was given to Thomas Parry-Williams to translate; he put it in classical Welsh--"the book is written in the best Welsh possible rather than in school-type Welsh.... The same happened with The Defenders--they gave it to a University lecturer in Welsh rather than a teacher....It is still the wrong thing to do." The same complaint about the unsuitably tough Welsh version of an immediately accessible English book is heard in all Welsh-medium schools that use Fraser's 2 volumes.

3. An original book, not a translation, highly praised by teachers, "a theme book rather than a chronological book," is by Dilys Quick (a woman author), called Cartrefi a Gwisg Drwy'r Oesoedd (Homes and Dress through the Ages), published by Gomer Press, Llandysul, Cardiganshire, 1971.

4. (a) Historical Atlas of Wales, by Idwal Jones (available in an English and a Welsh version);

(b) An Historical Atlas of Wales, by William Rees (only available in an English version).

It should be noted that pupils in secondary schools in Wales and England use atlases in history and geography as a matter of course, not so much in American public schools. Even in some American universities, it is very hard at times to find maps, any remotely suitable maps, for class use (e.g., when one looks for a map of the world in a "social science center," the only maps he finds in the Departments of History and Political Science are "the World during the Time of Charlmagne" and a 1939 map of Europe and parts of Africa). Perhaps the general American ignorance of history and geography (KG through University) is "functional," that is, important for mass persuasion and life in mass society.

## B. History Syllabus, Maes Garmon School, Mold, Flintshire

### 1. First Year

History is combined with social studies under the rubric, "Environmental Studies." These are local studies essentially, emphasizing the history of the locality.

### 2. Second Year

Pupils have 2 lessons a week, 40 minutes each. In some years, history is combined with Welsh for this age group.

Welsh history is taught as part of the history of Britain from Ancient Times to the Middle Ages. There is an emphasis on British prehistory centering on the area in which the school is located, an area rich in prehistory. Other topics covered are: Roman Britain; the Dark Ages; Arthur; the Age of the Saints; the Coming of Christianity; the Church in the Middle Ages; the Life of the Castle; the Princes in Wales; Glyn Dŵr.

The students have one topic to do themselves, being limited by the books they can use: Egypt; Greece; special study of the Vikings; the Normans; Warfare in the Middle Ages; Heraldry; Marco Polo; also on Glyn Dŵr, who is a popular figure.

### 3. Third Year

5 topics out of the following 8 are covered: Wales in the 16th century("that is, Britain in the 16th century")--includes the Act of Union of 1536; the Bards; Arthurian Legend; European Expansionism (commonly and misleadingly

called "Voyages of Discovery"--who discovered whom?); Early Settlements in North America; the Welsh Quakers in Pennsylvania; Resumé of History of China (to give students the idea that there are other histories beside European history); Transport from the 18th Century to Today.

The students do two topics themselves, part of homework, out of the following: The Tudor Kings; Houses in the 16th and 17th Centuries; Clothes/Costume; Sea Travel in the 16th and 17th Centuries; Warfare in the 16th and 17th Centuries; the French Revolution; the American Revolution; Early History of the Motor Car; "History of My Village" (includes a survey of half a dozen old buildings built before 1800); Old Industries in Flintshire; The Age of the Horse-Drawn Coach (stage coach); The Cattle Drovers (they drove cattle from Wales to England in the 18th century and beginning of the 19th--before the coming of the railway); if students have old relations born about 1900, then to tape-record an account of life in Wales before 1918. This is plus topics the students could choose on their own.

4. Fourth & Fifth Years

Preparation for External Exams.

For "O" level, one of the following: History of Britain, 1760-1914; History of the Modern World: 1918-1960.

For CSE, one of the following: History of Wales, 1737-1918; History of the Modern World, 1918-1970 (the CSE students get 10 extra years in one of their historical eras of specialization!).

6. Sixth Year

"A" level Exam: 16th and 17th Centuries.

Examples of textbooks used are the following:

1. Bebb, W. Ambrose, Llywidraeth Y Castell (Government of the Castle), Hughes & Son, Wrexham, 1934.
2. Ridd, Tom, Y Normaniaid yng Nghymru (The Normans in Wales), The Principality Press, Cardiff, 1970.
3. Davies, Irene Myrddin, Plant Cymru Trwy'r Oesoedd (Children of Wales through the Ages), Gwasg Aberystwyth, 1934.
4. Phillips, Teifion, Golwg dros fy Ysgwydd (A Glimpse over my Shoulder), Gwasg Gomer, 1974--for the CSE course.
5. Williams, D., Short History of Modern Wales, John Murray, London, 1963.
6. Speed, P. F., Police and Prisons ("Then and There" Series), Longmans, London, 1970.
7. Williams, Llewelyn, Owain Glyn Dŵr, Wren Books, Christopher Davies, 1967.
8. Jones, D. Gwyn, Robert Owens, 1771-1858: A Biography, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1968.

C. History Syllabus, Rhydfelen School, Rhyd-y-felin, Pontypridd, Glamorgan

1. First Year

For first year pupils (11-plus), there are 2 lessons a week, 40 minutes each, concerned with Early Civilization, plus one lesson a week on Welsh History.

Early Civilization: From the Sumerians to the Fall of the Roman Empire. Welsh History: From the Stone Age to the 10th Century A.D.

2. Second Year

2 lessons per week only.

Autumn Term: Fall of Roman Empire up to the 10th Century A. D. (5th to 10th centuries, European and English history).

Other two terms: The Middle Ages (from a Welsh point of view)--the Feudal System and the Ecclesiastical System (10th century to end of the Middle Ages in the 15th century).

3. Third Year

Two lessons a week.

Early modern period: Renaissance/Reformation; Tudors & Stewarts; England and Welsh History during the period 1492-1715 (discovery of America to Treaty of Utrecht; end of the Stewarts and succession of Queen Anne).

During the first three years, the history syllabus is "compulsory" (in American English "required"). It is an optional system after the first three years.

4. Fourth Year

Two kinds of two-year courses are offered beginning with the first year: one for the "O" level examination for which the candidates have to sit in the 5th year; the other for the C.S.E. level (the exam also given in the 5th year).

For "academic candidates" (i.e., those preparing for the "O" level exam), the course they specialize in is: Welsh and English History, 1760-1914. They have 4 lessons a week.

For "unacademic children" (those taking the Certificate of Secondary Education, or CSE, exam), the course they specialize in is: History of Transport and Communications through the ages (through the present day). This course officially begins in the 5th year. The same CSE children in the 4th year have a course on Welsh and English history during the 18th and 19th centuries. They also have 4 lessons a week.

(At the CSE and "O" level, children specialize in 8-9 courses; at the "A" level, in 3-4.)

The CSE course involves a written exam and preparation of a project to be handed in on transport and communication.

Grade "1" in the CSE is equivalent to an "O" level pass. Employers recognize this particular certificate (CSE). Exams are tied to the occupational system. 5-6 in "O" level leads to a white-collar career.

ROSLA ("Raising the School-Leaving Age") children do not sit for the "O" level exam because blue-collar work does not require it. They leave by the end of the 5th Form (the 6th Form is college-preparatory). "A" level work is post-"O" level. The "O" level children stay on.

6. Sixth Form

This consists of two years: 6-1 and senior. The "A" level course deals with the Early Modern Period, 1494-1830 (from the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII to the second French Revolution).

There are 3 papers: 2 compulsory, the third optional.

(a) A-1 Paper: Welsh and English History, 1485-1832 (from Bosworth and the coming of the Tudors to the first Reform Act).

Four questions are to be answered on the exam paper (out of 15-16).

(b) A-2 Paper: European History, 1494-1830.

(c) Optional Paper: Caled "S" paper or Special paper.

This paper is for "high flyers"; it is a general paper that explores in depth the pupil's understanding of the period. It is a very difficult paper; few people pass it. At one time, passing this paper meant a scholarship to a university; now it is only an addendum, a useful pass for a university degree course because such a paper shows the real ability of the pupil.

In addition to the "A" level history course in the 6th Form, another one was to be started in 1974-75 for most 6th Form pupils who do not follow the "A" level course. The course is called "Certificate of Extended Education" or CEE, a half-way between "O" level and "A" level. It is planned as a one-year course only; it will deal with the history of Wales, history of England, and general world history.

Some of the textbooks used are:

1. First Year

(a) Cootes, R. J., and Snellgrove, L. E., History of the Ancient World, Longmans, London, 1972.

(b) Welsh history book: a translation of an English book. Fraser, David, Y Goresgynwyr (The Invaders), University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1965.

2. Second Year

(a) Cootes, R. J., and Snellgrove, L. E., The Middle Ages, Longmans, London, 1972.

(b) Fraser, David, Yr Amddiffynwyr (The Defenders), University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1967.

3. Third Year

(a) Snellgrove, L. E., The Early Modern Age, Longmans, London, 1972.

(b) No specific world history book is used, but several.

4. Fourth Year & Fifth Year

(a) Cootes, R. J., and Snellgrove, L. E., Britain since 1700, Longmans, London, 1972.

(b) Williams, D., History of Modern Wales, John Murray, London, 1963.

(c) Welsh books in the series called "Cyfres Llygad y Ffynnon"(History Source Books), published by the University of Wales Press, Cardiff.

6. Sixth Year

No specific set books are used but rather the school library for specific topics for "A" level work. Some of the books used are:

(a) Roderick, A. J. (ed.), Wales through the Ages (Vol. 1: From the Earliest Times to 1485; Vol. 2: From 1485 to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century), Christopher Davies, Llandybie, Carmarthenshire, 1965.

(b) Dodd, A. H., Life in Wales, B. T. Batsford, London, 1972.

(c) Morgan, K. O., Wales in British Politics: 1868-1922, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1970.

Indeed, many of the books that students in the 6th Form use are what Americans call "college level," that is, quite advanced and of the type not usually found in American secondary schools, e.g., the three aforementioned ones. In addition, the 6th Formers use a number of history atlases, e.g., by J. Idwal Jones (Atlas Hanesyddol Cymru--Historical Atlas of Wales); by William Rees (An Historical Atlas of Wales); by C. K. Brampton (History Teaching Atlas, Wheaton & Co., Exeter, England, 1969); and by Brian Catchpole (A Map History of the British People: 1700-1970, Heinemann Educational Books, London, 1971).

D. History Syllabus, Morgan Llwyd School, Wrexham, Denbighshire

1. First Year

An integrated course on geography and history of the area, including archeological history. In geography, development of modern industry is stressed.

2. Second Year

Invasion of the Vikings. Life in the Dark Ages.

3. Third Year

1485-1700. Concern with social history, e.g., architecture, clothes, food, entertainment. Concern with Welsh history, e.g., Act of Union with England in 1536, and famous Welshmen of the period.

4. Fourth & Fifth Forms

"O" level syllabus. Fourth year: Welsh history, 18th to 20th centuries. Late fourth year as well as fifth year: British history, 1763-1914. The 1763-1914 period is divided into Welsh history and English history, part of a new syllabus. There is an emphasis on the Methodist Revival, cultural aspects of the Eisteddfod, and the Industrial Revolution.

6. Sixth Form

6-1 and 6-2, "A" level syllabus. The history teacher, because of not too large an enrollment, teaches the two sixth-form sections together.

A-1 paper: Concentration on British history, 1832-1939. The Reform Acts of 1832; the politicians Robert Peele, Palmerstone, Disraeli, and Gladstone. British foreign policy in the 19th century; relations with Ireland; scramble for Africa; imperialism and First World War; Peele--Corn Laws, Conservatives, and foreign trade. There is a section in the A-1 paper on Welsh history--a total of 14 questions of which 4 are on Welsh history.

Welsh history in the Sixth Form consists, inter alia, of the following topics: social unrest in the 19th century; education, religion, politics, industries, and agriculture; immigration to the New World--middle of 19th century immigration to Tennessee (Samuel Roberts hoped to establish a Welsh-speaking colony in the United States but the Civil War hampered his efforts); Michael D. Jones and the movement to Patagonia (hoped that Wales would flourish away from English domination, made the Welsh language a medium of education and government in the Welsh colony in Patagonia); cultural aspects of the Eistedfodd; Welsh literature.

A-2 paper: European history, 19th century.

Some of the textbooks used are:

(a) Fraser, David, The Invaders and The Defenders (Welsh versions)--selections, not the whole account.

(b) Quick, Dilys, Cartrefi a Gwisg Drwy'r Oesoedd (Homes and Clothes throughout the Ages), Gwasg Gomer, Llandysul, 1971. This book is used for the 2nd and 3rd years.

(c) Cymry Enwog (Famous Welshmen)--a Welsh text compiled by a special editorial board, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1958. (The book has interesting accounts on Morgan Llwyd, a writer after whom the school is named; on Samuel Roberts; and on Michael D. Jones--among about 80 names!) The book is used for 2nd, 3rd, and 4th year; it gives a good range of Welshmen from St. David (6th century) to Welsh "politicians" in the 18th and 19th centuries.

(d) Thomas, Ieuan D., Gwleidyddiaeth Cymru: 1850-1900 (Welsh Politics: 1850-1900), Book 5 of the History Sourcebooks, the Cyfres Llygad y Ffynnon (literally, the "eye of the spring" sourcebooks), University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1973. (The book has extracts in Welsh and English, taken from Government documents and similar sources).

Other books in this series of History Sourcebooks deal with education, social unrest, and Methodist Revival, among other topics. Selections from them are read.

(e) Finlayson, G.B.A., England in the Eighteen Thirties, Arnold, London (for the 6th Form).

(f) Thompson, David, Europe since Napoleon, Longmans, London, second edition 1969. (A major source on the 19th century, deals with Europe as a whole, definitely college level, consulted by Sixth Formers, part of school library.)

(g) Series of recordings by Wren Records entitled "Wales and Her History," e.g., "June 1865, the Patagonian Venture: Wales and the World" by Prof. Alun Davies and Prof. Glanmor Williams, Wren Educational Record Library, Vol. 1, Wren Records, Llandybie, Carms., South Wales.

## E. History Syllabus, Ystalyfera School, Ystalyfera, Glamorgan

### 1. First Year

Ancient Times: Wales, Europe, and the World--up to 1066. (It is interesting to note that Welsh history teachers use "up to" in indicating a chronological range, whereas Americans may be inclined to say "down to" 1066!)

2. Second Year

1066-1485 (Battle of Hastings to Bosworth Field; 1485 marks the time the Tudors occupied the throne of England).

3. Third Year

1485-1715 (roughly, Tudors & Stewarts).

4. Fourth Year

"O" level: 1760-1914 (1760 is the time of George III).

CSE: syllabus on the modern world, 1914-1974.

5. Fifth Year

Continuation of two-year course begun the previous year.

(Note: Instead of calling them "grades," the British call them "years" or "forms" in the secondary school; "years" or "standards" in the elementary school. In American terms, "Fifth year" in secondary school is equivalent to the eleventh grade.)

6. Sixth Form

First and second year of the 6th Form: 1714-1939, British and European history. Welsh history is emphasized within this period (e.g., 1715--Hanoverians came to Britain; circa 1739--Griffith Jones; 1737--Circulating Schools; circa 1839--Chartism in Wales; etc.).

Some of the textbooks used are:

(a) Fraser, D., Y Goresgynwyr (The Invaders) and Yr Amddiffynwyr (The Defenders).

(b) Roderick, A. J. (ed.), Wales through the Ages, 2 vols., Christopher Davies, Llandybie, Carmarthenshire, 1971.

(c) Jenkins, R. T., History of the 18th Century and History of the 19th Century (in Welsh).

(d) Books from the series, "Cyfres Llygad y Ffynnon" (Welsh History Source books), published by the University of Wales Press.

In these examples of history syllabi taken from 5 of the Welsh-medium secondary schools, it is apparent that the focus in history is related to three concentric circles: Wales, Europe, and the World. The history of Wales is inexorably tied to that of England; the general emphasis is Euro-centric. External exams dictate the content in the 4th, 5th, and 6th Forms; non-exam, and often innovative, content is introduced in the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Forms. In the opinion of many school informants, Welsh history is not given the place it deserves in its own right, that is, made a full-fledged specialty.

## A NOTE ABOUT HISTORY AS NOURISHMENT FOR, OR SPOILER OF, IDENTITY

With the rise of state systems of education in the 19th century, history has become a nourisher of patriotism and asserter of nationalism. Dominant groups have been praised in the officially sanctioned history taught in schools; subordinate groups, neglected, omitted, semi-ridiculed, or left out tarrying in the shade hoping for admittance. In the same way that "one man's dish is another man's poison," one group's official mythology is another's official damnation. Many adult Welsh informants have asserted that as children they felt that the history they were taught in school left them with the feeling that it was not theirs, that they were not viewed as participants in it but as incidental to it, that they were slighted. "Looking at Welsh history through Welsh eyes" has been a deliberate quest of pro-Welsh Welshmen and Welsh women (see, for example, Ceinwen Thomas, 1950 and 1960; A.O.H. Jarman, 1950; G. Evans, 1974).

The historian, Paul M. Kennedy, contends that nationalistic history has declined in the West in the 20th century, that the decline may be due to the fact that the nations of the First World (to use a more contemporary term) have already established their claim to fame, that such decline is manifested in the rise of Anti-Establishment history in the U.S.A. and Western Europe (1973:77-100). Kennedy claims that it is only countries of the Third World that are currently preoccupied with writing nationalistic history.

It can, however, be said that nationalistic and nationality sentiments still permeate the history textbooks used in schools, that the pro-Establishment history is still considerably were powerful than its deflectors and detractors, and that such history--to use M. G. Smith's notions about cultural pluralism--still provides the dominant, or rather imperial, sort of cultural version that serves partly to hold the social structure together, keeping most of the unequal contented with, and loyal to, the way of those that are "equal." What Gilbert Murray--the classical scholar turned into top-notch propagandist in the service of the Empire in World War I (inspirer of the Lord Kitchener poster with the handlebar moustache, pointed index finger, and the exhortation, "Your

Country Needs You")--is reported to have said still holds true as an organizing sentiment in history books in the service of expansion-minded, domineering groups:

> In every nation of Europe from England and France to Russia and Turkey, in almost every nation in the world from the Americans to the Chinese and the Finns, the same whisper from below the threshold sounds incessantly in men's ears. We are the pick and flower of nations; the only nation that is really generous and brave and just. We are above all things qualified for governing others; we know how to keep them exactly in their place without weakness and without cruelty (quoted in W. L. Langer, The Diplomacy of Imperialism, New York, 1965:96, and in turn quoted by P. M. Kennedy, 1973:90).

To commemorate the "civilising" task of those in charge of the Empire and the need of the "less fortunate races" to be civilisable, Empire Day (May 24th) was first celebrated in 1902; later renamed "Commonwealth Day" in 1959 (Collison, 1961:338).

The staff of Welsh-medium schools are trying to get away from such chauvinism as the aforementioned, and to promote a sense of nationality and uniqueness not dependent on arrogance and injustice. This is reflected in the teaching and reinterpretation of Welsh history within the overall British and European context.

The self-praise of in-groups, the damnation of out-groups, and the ignoring of those not immediately in one's ken as non-groups is a process reflected in the overall symbolic system of a society, that is, in the structure of meanings and depiction of reality that is considerably dependent on the wishes of the dominant group. The Welsh are not only excluded from "making history" in histories written by the pro-English, but their sense of identity, their language and literature, are attacked or belittled in other contexts. Witness the following characterization advanced by a literary critic and commentator who has a regular column in the London Times and who is colonially, as some informants have described him, an Englishman of the middle range (cf. Memmi, 1967) and thus perhaps prone to look askance at those whom those above him do not quite tolerate. In one of his books, Bernard Levin has written:

> Matters were not helped much by the growing insistence, borne along on the wave of nationalism, that the Welsh language must be revived and strengthened, and taught in the schools instead of dreadful foreign tongues. The fact that the vast majority of Welsh people spoke little or no Welsh and showed no desire to learn any, or to have their children learn any either, made no difference. At any rate, if it did, the difference was one which only caused complaints that Welsh children were being deprived of their cultural heritage, though the amount of genuine literature in Welsh was small, and additions to it of any merit rare. That this was the case could be seen each year at the Eisteddfod, where, amid much dressing-up and chanting, a Bardic crown was awarded for, as it might be, an enormous poem in rhymed octosyllabic couplets about an ancient Welsh chieftain who had done little of note other than sell his army to

> the English for cash down; the poem would be discussed for a few days or weeks in a small circle in Wales, and thereafter never be seen again, nor its author heard of (Bernard Levin, The Pendulum Years, 1970:162-163--quoted in R. T. Jones, 1974:104-105, emphasis added).

Although a caustic style seems to be at times an indispensable armament for a critic, the aforementioned account is one of deliberate defamation, a belittling of the Welsh literary tradition and the national literary celebration at the annual Eisteddfod. In reply, R. T. Jones (1974:106) has, inter alia, written:

> Any man who believes that the crown at our National Eisteddfod is given for an "enormous poem in rhymed octosyllabic couplets," and who, in the same paragraph makes a sweeping and derisory statement about a thousand years of Welsh literature is clearly a charlatan. First he obviously cannot read Welsh. Second he cannot count syllables. Thirdly he assumes we are all fools.

Pro-Welsh Welsh writers such as G. Evans (1973 and 1974), N. Thomas (1973), and R. Tudor Jones himself (1974) are at times at pain to prove that the English themselves--like the proverbial kettle calling the pot black--are very nationalistic, guilty of what they accuse Welshmen to be. Perhaps their nationalism, because it is so well established, is expressed quietly but surely. The following poem, written by a perceptive Englishman, is a classic in portrayal of in-group self-aggrandizement and an attitude of intolerance towards out-groups. The reader, in rereading the poem, is invited to substitute other groups for "the English"--ethnic, religious, or occupational--as an exercise in the verstehen of some aspects of the question of boundaries and identity.

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In these matters, there is a sense of what is and what might be, an awareness of the "should be" of ethnicity, identity, nationality, Iaith (language), and Welsh-medium schooling and other institutional supports for the language. The same aforementioned poet has written (1959:116):

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# CHAPTER VIII

# SOME IMPLICATIONS OF THIS STUDY

## A. ETHNICITY AND NATIONALISM

In its particularity, a case study is a sort of "hothouse" phenomenon, an intensification of general tendencies found in a multiplicity of cases; in its universality, a case study is but an individual instance, a point on a continuum of events. In this chapter, we shall deal more with the latter,than the former, assertion, emphasizing that the study of Welsh-English relations is but a special case of the general study of ethnicity in the post-1945 world.

Currently the World, like Caesar's Gaul, is divisible into three: (a) the First World--the technologically advanced, fully industrialized, fundamentally "private enterprise" countries of Western Europe and North America, including Japan and Israel in Asia, and the Republic of South Africa in Africa; (b) the Second World--the socialist or communist countries of Asia and Eastern Europe, including Cuba in Central America, industrialized countries with state-controlled economies; and (c) the Third World--the feudal-type, economically and industrially underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. (The coiner of the term "Third World" and, by extension, Second and First, Alfred Sauvy, conceived of the "three worlds" as being akin to the "three estates" of France on the eve of the French Revolution--Sauvy, 1956.) Historically, the Third World supplied raw materials to the First World and was, for a long time, colonized by it; it is the world that developed anti-colonial nationalist movements culminating in independence after

1945. Currently, the Third World is the world fought over by the First and the Second in their attempt to enlarge their spheres of influence. The Kingpin of the First World is the U.S.A., its allies are often called the "Free World" by Americans; the Kingpin of the Second World in Europe is Russia, its allies are usually called "satellites" by Americans. The three major powers contending for political and economic hegemony on a global scale are actually continent-like in their size, population, and tentacular reach: America, Russia, and China; when it comes to these factors, all other countries pale in comparison.

What does all this have to do with Wales and situations like Wales? Quite a lot, we can say, according to the following considerations:

1. Wales represents rural-farm and rural-non-farm economy that is basically oriented towards extractive industry: coal and iron. It is not a fully industrialized or economically advanced region of Britain. It suffers from constant depopulation (it exports large numbers of school teachers and other forms of manpower to England and beyond). It is economically depressed. It is an instance of what we would like to call "the Third World in the First World," an example of a rather large category. What is important about the "Third World in the First World" is not merely economic backwardness or underdevelopment but the fact that such category of regions within old, independent nation-states represents ethnically, linguistically, or culturally distinct entities: Scotland and Northern Ireland in the United Kingdom; Brittany and Corsica in the French Republic; Sicily and

Sardinia in the Italian Republic; to a certain extent, the Basque country in Spain, although Spain itself is basically an underdeveloped part of Europe; and, as a New World example, Quebec in Canada. (Non-linguistically distinct, though economically backward regions--such as Appalachia, the "North Country" of New Hampshire, Washington and Aroostook counties in Maine, and other areas within the U.S.--are Third-Worldish in their poverty and rurality, though not in a nationalist or autonomist sense; hence, are excludable from direct comparability with Wales or Quebec.) Obviously, some of the aforementioned European regions have full-fledged autonomist movements; others, do not. It is useful to think of ethnic relations not only when they are full-blown but also when they are dormant.

2. Historically, all the aforementioned "Third World in First World" regions were independent entities, incorporated into larger nation-states mostly in the sixteenth century. For example, Wales itself, was the first colony of England, fully annexed, on the basis of the Act of Union, in 1536; Brittany, formerly an independent dukedom, was incorporated into France by treaty in 1532. (It is interesting to recall that such sixteenth-century annexations were instances of consolidation within European nation-states prior to, or at an early stage of, the torrential outflow of the White Peril to conquer parts of Asia and Africa and, through "Voyages of Discovery," North and South America.) Historically, these regions can be considered old "internal colonies": autonomist movements within them, appearing especially after 1945, can be viewed as an extension

of, and a sequel to, autonomist movements in the Third World.

3. The common experience of most Third World regions in Europe and North America has been that of economic, political, and cultural subjugation emanating from the central administrations of the nation-states of which they are a part. Some sociologists--e.g., Michael Hechter (1971, 1972, 1973, 1974a, and 1974b) in contrasting the Celtic Fringe with England and Robert Blauner (1969, 1970, 1972a, and 1972b) in contrasting non-Whites with Whites in the U.S.--have called such subjugation "internal colonialism." Such conceptualization has become part of the conventional wisdom of American sociology, the practitioners of which having, until recently, seen race and ethnic relations mostly as a "moral dilemma" or a case of "caste" (cf. Myrdal, 1964; Berreman, 1960). Conceptualizers of "internal colonialism" maintain that the analogy with the historical, White Peril type of external colonialism in relation to Asia, Africa, and South America is not merely a matter of economic and political control of the colony by the metropolis but one of cultural destruction of the former by the latter. In some of these regions, e.g., Brittany and Wales, the natives are denied an official status to their language; indeed, as in the case of Brittany, they cannot even speak it in school or on the radio or television. In other words, the analogy of "internal colonialism" not only depends on administrative differentiation between ethnically dominant and ethnically subordinate groups, but such analogy plays down the issue of territoriality as a necessary condition (Hechter, 1971:36-37). If that is the case,

then Blacks, Chicanos (Mexican-Americans), American Indians, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, and Filipinos--ethnic groups with or without distinct territoriality of their own--would be included, according to Blauner (1969 and 1972a), under this analogy. For Blauner in particular (1970), the reality of the cultural oppression of non-Whites in America--a wounding, psychic violence that is degrading to both Whites and non-Whites but mostly devastating to the latter (cf. Memmi, 1967)--outweighs even the economic and political oppression.

Two corollaries are linked with the above: (a) we can view the U.S. anthropologically in a larger context that extends beyond its borders; and (b) in the study of race and ethnic relations in an international context, it becomes clear that such relations are not merely a case of socio-economic stratification but that the cultural factor, the ethnic factor, has a force of its own, has consequences in its own right. In other words, in such study we do not set out to subsume race or ethnicity under class, but look at them as interlocking elements that are at times in conflict, at others in full reciprocity (cf. Mast, 1974:66; G. K. Lewis, 1974:92). What this means, among other things, is that ethnicity, through assertion of a native language or other in-group characteristics, can then become a vehicle for cultural resurgence, a matter of ideology in opposition to ideological control by the socio-politically dominant group--precisely as in the case of the Welsh in Wales, the Franco-Canadians in Quebec, and the Blacks in the U.S. In all this, of course, there is a certain commonality: ethnicity, over and above its socio-economic dimension, has been a chief rallying cry, an embodiment of identity, e.g., "Black Is Beautiful" and its Welsh equivalents "Welsh Is Beautiful" and "Welsh,and Proud of It." (In imitation of Blacks who dropped their "slave name" and called themselves "X"--for Ex-Slave Name--or adopted a non-Anglo surname, some Welshmen have dropped what they called their "slave name," e.g., the English-determined "Jones," substituting a Welsh-sounding name instead. This is what Dafydd Iwan, the popular Welsh singer, is supposed to have said and done.)

What the aforementioned also means is that if we take a worldwide look at things, if we begin to inspect the Third World in the First World, then we begin to see certain commonalities that otherwise would escape us. One of those commonalities is that ethnic subjugation (we are using "ethnic" in an anthropological manner, subsuming under it "racial" and "cultural") appears to be quite often qualitatively distinct from economic subjugation, as we have already mentioned. Another, in that ethnic assertion--among the Welsh, the Scots, the Chicanos, the Original Americans (also self-renamed Native Americans; called by others American Indians), and other Third-World groups within the First World is both a defense mechanism against psychological and economic oppression and the vehicle for a revitalization movement. Ethnicity has become the cutting-edge for economics.

If we view Wales in a worldwide context and link it with such apparently diverse regions and groups in both Europe and America, then we can also see it as part of a general trend of "retribalization" in the First World, of resurgence of ethnic consciousness in Western Europe and North America. The world, perhaps, is becoming one interlocked social system so that one change in one part of it is quite often telescoped to another. The Black civil-rights movement in the U.S., for example, has had an influence--in matters of slogans and reactivation of national identity--on the pro-Welsh Welsh.

4. We have characterized Welsh nationalism as being more cultural than political, that is, as being aimed at redressing social-psychological and socio-economic wrongs but within the framework of a United Kingdom, that its objective has been that of interdependence more than independence; of devolution, more than full political separatism. Welsh nationalism has been essentially linguistic and cultural, and fundamentally non-violent. In this, it has been quite different from the nationalism of the Basques, and--to point to a North-American case--that of the Quebecois. When viewed on a Third-World-in-the-First-World continuum, Welsh nationalism is then seen in a larger context, a somewhat newer perspective--as a sub-variety within a diversity.

In employing an "internal colonialism" framework to interpret what seems to be diverse phenomena within the First World, we should like to make it clear that whereas the Quebecois type of nationalism has, for historical and other reasons, strong elements of separatism within it, of complete political independence of the nation-state type, the cultural nationalism of Third-World Americans (non-Whites) is basically that--cultural and socio-economic, but not territorially separatist. In this, it is somewhat in accord with the basic thrust of Welsh nationalism or--to put it in American terms--part of the optimistic pluralism of the melting pot, or its pluralist optimism. Needless to say, such optimism may at times be facile; at others, tinged with pessimism, but its integrationist character is quite clear.

5. In a world consolidated into a single social system in the twentieth century, ethnicity seems to be a more apt characteristic of a bygone era rather than the present. Nevertheless, there has been a rebirth of ethnicity even in the First World, especially in the Third-Worldish regions of such World. Becoming a Breton on the part of totally Frenchised Bretons or becoming a pro-Welsh, Welsh-speaking Welshman or Welsh woman on the part of a two or three-generation Anglicized cohort of the Welsh has been a slow process--something one awakens to, discovers, comes to grip with, allows as a new definer of personal reality, not merely brushes off or takes for granted. The process is quite often painful, for the journey unto the self is often a tempest-tossed journey, perhaps the hardest journey. Members of the re-Bretonized or re-Welshized intelligentsia have at times written about the rediscovery of their own ethnicity, the self-cleansing of a heretofore spoiled identity. Among them, for example, are Morvan Lebesque (1970, 1973), Bobi Jones (1970, 1974), Chris Harris (1973a), and--as written about them by Fishlock (1972: 57-58, 87-96)--Dafydd Williams and Dafydd Iwan (the latter

originally Dafydd Iwan Jones). In all these cases, relearning the native language has been the key to a recovery of nationality, of a sense of identity. In an article entitled "No Welsh as a Child," Chris Harris has written:

> As youngsters we were, at most, two generations removed from Welsh as an everyday language, some of us only one....Somewhere along the line a decision had been made to break with the past and cut us off from our roots. We were adrift. Our minds a maze of contradictions. And strangely enough although this has presumably been done for our benefit by someone who saw some advantage in our ignorance we felt no gratitude. We felt cheated. In spite of all the jibes we all wished we could speak Welsh. We even said so.
>
> A Welshman's attitude to his language is very complex whether he speaks it or not. His natural affection for it is smothered by his fear of it. Will it spoil his prospects? Will it spoil his English? Will it make him look silly? Is it a language at all?
>
> Often one has to fight through this haze of doubts and uncertainty to discover the essential truth that the Welsh language is something infinitely precious, well deserving all our pride and loyalty. It is the one and only genuinely Welsh thing there is. All the rest, national costume, folk songs, folk dances, rugby, religious traditions and even the so-called Welsh way of life, although somehow different, are mostly second hand. The Welsh language is not. Wales has no history as an English speaking country.... The language is the most ancient social institution in these islands--older even than the Christian religion--a language well worth the trouble of learning....

> It may even be that in the Europe of the future we shall tend to think less of ourselves as Britons, Germans, and Belgians and more as Welshmen, Westphalians, and Walloons....At least we shall have a language of our own which needs no inventing (Chris Harris, 1973a:3, emphasis added).

Such an experience, such a journey unto self-discovery, reintroduces the person into the traditional community. It is almost a religious experience, with overtones and a direct bearing on two well-known Scriptural happenings: the denial of self and other by the disciple Peter on the morning of Calvary and his later diametrically-opposed response of affirmation, and the return of the Prodigal Son. Usually, there is no prodigality after a return, only affirmation.

In the U.S.A., there have been historically many instances of descendants of non-Anglo, White immigrants, reasserting their ethnicity in the second or third generation because of a historical memory of psychological and economic Anglo oppression (cf. Novak, 1972; Schrag, 1972). But it is especially since the end of World War II that non-Whites in America have begun to assert their sense of nationality, e.g., the rising intelligentsia of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and the original inhabitants--American Indians.

In all these instances what we are dealing with, of course, is rejection of the colonized self, an assertion of a traditional but revitalized counter-self (cf. Memmi, 1967). From an "internal colonialism" point of view, as some writers have asserted, the metropolitan Uncle Sam has managed to produce, by response, the colonial Uncle Tom among Blacks, Uncle Tom-a-Hawk among Indians, Uncle Tomas among Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, and so forth (cf. G. K. Lewis, 1974:96; Charnofsky, 1971:181--not to mention some interesting Uncles produced overseas). Contempt for the non-English native languages, the historical efforts of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and deliberate deculturation through the Anglo-run public schools have helped, for example, to de-Indianize Indians. Robert Roessel, Jr., the first President of a Navaho Community College in northeastern Arizona has said:

> For years the White man's schools--and that's what the Indians call them--have educated the Indianness out of these people, taught the young people that the hogan is dirty, that their parents were ignorant.
>
> The result is a group of bleached Indian youth, who are miserable on the Reservations but rarely learn to adjust when they leave for the big city. They are neither Anglo nor Indian, but just full of self-hatred (Los Angeles Times, June 1, 1969, part of an article by Linda Matthews entitled "Navahos Chart Educational Path"--quoted by Charnofsky, 1971:181, emphasis added here).

Like the Welsh, the Bretons, and other Third-World people within the First World, American Indians are becoming proud of what they were once taught to be ashamed of. Albert Laughter, a young Navaho college student majoring in Business Administration, seems to speak for many other people:

> Some day, I may sit behind a big desk, with a big job. But no matter how many degrees I have, I want to be able to wear my knot (the traditional Navaho hair style) with pride. I

> don't want to forget my great-grandfathers, as other tribes have, and *I don't want people to forget that Albert Laughter is a Navaho* (*Linda Matthews*, "Navahos Chart Educational Path," *Los Angeles Times*, June 1, 1969--quoted by Charnofsky, 1971:182, emphasis added here).

In the process of de-colonizing the self, Indians begin to articulate their view of the White man as a noble savage. Geraldine Larkin, a Canadian Indian woman, in addressing a group of Anglo educators summarized for them White Anglo culture:

> We have difficulty adjusting to the White society: It is not our custom to get up by stepping on each other's faces (W. Stewart, 1970:370).

Yet the pro-Indian Indians have not only to contend with Whites as opponents but also with pro-White Indians--the ones thought to be Bleached Indians, the ones they themselves were prior to becoming, to being converted into, pro-Indian. In the same way, the pro-Welsh Welsh have had to contend both with Englishmen and with the Anglo-Welsh in their fight for identity. That fight, in Wales, revolves around the language. Saunders Lewis, the towering giant of Welsh letters, in speaking of the men and women of the Welsh Language Society, had this to say (we quote at length because the issue is one of both language and *Gemeinschaft*, or traditional community):

> They are fighting for what is the essence of Welsh nationalism and they are not fighting against England and the English, *they are fighting the most unpopular battle of all: against their own people*. They are fighting for what is the very lifeblood

> of Wales and the sadness is that their persecutors are the Welsh people on the councils and the magistrates' benches. Wales is a nation in subjection and unfortunately happy in its subjection. I would emphasize very much that the great opposition to Welsh nationalism does not come from England: the opposition is Wales and that is the tragedy of Wales after 400 years of subjection.
>
> The only real reason for nationalism, it seems to me, is the preservation of our civilization and values. *The loss of the language is the loss of an identity; it is the loss of a complete history and culture to the person concerned*. Now it is very difficult to say all this to the proletariat in Wales because all education now, as well as the development of industry, ignores this side of life. *We have a technological civilization and the importance of personality and cultural history is minimal*.
>
> It is against this background that the Welsh language supporters are waging their campaign. It is a difficult situation. *Once people have lost the language they object to anyone else having it*. To make what they have lost important, to give it status, is therefore like a slap in the face. *There is among the people of South Wales, in particular, an immense consciousness of not being English and, at the same time, of having thrown away the badge of their Welshness, their language*. And inevitably they are driven to be more at one with the people of England. That is the only defence they have left (Fishlock, 1972:78-79, emphasis added).

Issues of language, nationalism, identity, counter-identity, and community are seldom found in isolation but most often intertwined. They are part of the overall process of the stranger coming home (e.g., re-Welshified by learning the traditional language), re-entering the traditional community, Gemeinschaft, and attempting to cope with the all-engulfing contractual society, Gesellschaft. Language is the vehicle.

In Canada, the French in Quebec are not merely asserting French culture at present, but more specifically and particularly the Quebec version of that culture and what non-Quebeckers call "patois" in contradistinction to the Parisian dialect, that is, the French-Canadian version of French. One of the major debates in Quebec today centers around how the province can assert its cultural identity in the context of a bicultural and bilingual Canada, a Canada with a population that is 30% French speaking and 70% English speaking. As Gaston Miron, dubbed the "national poet of Quebec," has averred, "Cultural identity is determined by the linguistic situation." A recent novel by a Quebec author, quite long, is an allegory on the linguistic controversy inside Quebec, an allegory centered around characters portraying conformity and deviance. Says the hero of the novel, "I don't want to be a transvestite in my own country": English on the lips of a French Canadian inside Quebec is symbolized as deviance, something akin to men habitually dressed in women's clothing, a moral degradation, a demeaning disguise. In Quebec, the French are trying to find ways to convince new immigrants to adopt French instead of English, though English "is the language in which you make money" (Foster's Daily Democrat, Dover, N.H., April 23, 1973, page 3).

Though only 1 in 5 speaks Welsh, the importance of the Welsh language in Wales is more qualitative than quantitative. Recently, a sort of a landmark was reached when a new Welsh language version of the New Testament was published on St. David's Day, 1975 (March 1, 1975), a clear and modern language version that took 14 years to prepare and that constitutes the Welsh equivalent of the New English Bible (London Times, February 24, 1975). A new Welsh version of the Old Testament will be published in 1988, exactly four centuries after the publication of the William Morgan Bible in 1588. It was the Morgan Bible that standardized and preserved the Welsh language as a written and literary medium and safeguarded a sense of nationhood among the Welsh (London Times, February 24, 1975).

6. One of the long-range issues with which autonomist movements in the Third World regions of the First World are faced is the issue of political vs. economic independence. In other words, even if a given region attains self-government at a future time, its economy may still be controlled from the outside in many essential respects. The spectacular rise of the multinational corporation especially after the end of World War II, a trans-national corporation describable as "a state within a state," makes economic dependency for prospective nation-states a hard reality, that is, circumscribes the very meaning of political autonomy in both internal and external affairs. The rising middle classes of the Celtic regions in Britain, of Quebec in Canada, and of similar areas are faced with the fact that they ultimately have no choice perhaps except to learn to work for trans-national corporations! Their situation

of "internal colonialism," in other words, may simply become one of "neo-colonialism"--a case of unintended sameness that appears as change.

7. Another debate within autonomist movements is focused on preservation and extension of a sense of community--of mutual help,fellowship, and accountability over and above self-indulgent "individualism." Third-World regions have a "memory" of community even when various forces coincide to break up traditional social bonds and make the person emotionally walk alone. There are, however, various obstacles to restoration of a sense of community in Third World regions because privatized life, the essence of mass society, though somewhat new in these regions, has been accompanied by two mutually reinforcing phenomena: (a) consumerism voraciously fed by the incessant creation of artificial needs through the intimate alliance of advertising and the mass media (an alliance that John Kenneth Galbraith has called "organized bamboozlement"); and (b) the incipient erosion of the quality of transcendence, the critique or cutting edge, in personal debate over matters concerning the public good or the social structure. In other words, "though ideology does not disappear, its critical....function decays" (Kleinberg, 1973:193); the concern of consumerism is private comfort and convenience above all else, not public well-being.

The preceding is more distinctly characteristic of the "post-industrial society" segments of the First World (cf. Daniel Bell, 1973; Kleinberg, 1973), of what is most First-Worldish about the First World. There, two other interrelated phenomena are quite apparent: (a) the replacement of a verstehen approach, of insightful knowledge, with a mathematization and cognitization of reality, with keeping, quite often, everyday life deliberately at an arm's length; and (b) the aggressive marketing of pre-packaged "full programs" for teaching various subjects and courses in secondary school and college, a practice resulting in making the teacher a sort of a salesman who does not know much about the product he distributes rather than a craftsman who puts it together and--to use a modern idiom--"has got it all together." Some of the multi-material corporations now have "educational technology" subsidiaries providing these "programs." This may lead to "defusing" or "tranquilizing" any traditional impulse towards change by supplying the very terms by which people, from a dominant elites' point of view, are supposed to think about reality. It depends, of course, on the leeway the teacher is accorded in the use and interpretation of pre-packaged program designs. (It should be added that the canned mannerisms of Rogerianism, the superficial espousal of "affect," the touchy-feely con games of small-groupists can be viewed as part of a general attack on personal intensity and the critical sense in post-industrial society.)

As someone has said, Americans are born without a sense of the past (G. K. Lewis, 1974:94), without a feel for history, let alone geography. Such ignorance is "functional," that is, it serves the purposes of those who control the mass media because then mass-media ideas become readily absorbable by readers or listeners as "facts" and debates about deliberately omitted, if not distorted, facts become more difficult. As "underdeveloped" regions become "developed," they face distortion of packaged mass-media information without the benefit of community as a corrective, as a countervailing force. In the "post-industrial society," it seems, everything tends to conspire to destroy the family unit--extended and nuclear--as well as the community. People in the Third World regions of the First World are well aware of that and would like to avert it. It is an issue that appears even in election platforms, as we have shown in relation to Wales.

In October, 1974, in a two-day interview with the New York Times, Henry A. Kissinger, the well-known modern-day statesman and shuttle diplomat, viewed the nations of the world as "delicately poised on the verge of a new historic era." The outcome could be an improved world order, or chaos. A lot depends, it can be said, on the relation especially between the First and Third Worlds, a most interesting case of which is the relation of the First World to those Third World regions within it itself. The twentieth century, especially after 1945, has been a century of cultural and political resurgence in the Third World, even in that part of it within Western Europe and North America.

8. For elites and rising counter-elites, the schools are instruments of justification and legitimation. This is true of English-medium as well as Welsh-medium schools in Wales, and of schools in the U.S. and elsewhere. A sense of ethnicity and nationality may be deliberately fostered or deliberately killed or discouraged by the schools. In the true sense,

schools are instruments of governance, governance of the new generation for conformity to the status quo or its modification. Schools mirror, in a concentrated fashion, the achievement and the problems of the society of which they are a part. Monolingualism and bilingualism are part of what is mirrored: In a sense, bilingualism is but a Third World issue within the First World.

## B. BILINGUALISM

From socio-political and socio-cultural considerations revolving around division of the world, already a partly integrated social system, into actually three Worlds, we turn our attention to a practical problem within this large context--bilingualism.

In a world increasingly becoming standardized in clothing, food, and the tempo of work and leisure--a suffocating uniformity according to some--the quest for authenticity is pushing groups to claim language as an index of uniqueness, especially if the language has been a suppressed one, a casualty of "internal colonialism." It is all a version of "Black Is Beautiful" and "Welsh, and Proud of It."

Of what relevance is this study of Welsh-English relations to the bilingual situation especially in the U.S.? Of what relevance is it especially in relation to the following areas (I am indebted to Carter H. Collins, National Institute of Education, for enumerating these areas and commenting on them):

1. Language maintenance vs. transition
2. Teacher training
3. Assessment instruments
4. Language valuation and devaluation by parents and community

A most important Supreme Court case last year, one that sparked further interest in bilingual education in the U.S., and one that serves as a sort of overall introduction to the four aforementioned issues, was that of Lau vs. Nichols. In San Francisco, Chinese American parents sued the Board of Education claiming that the civil rights of their youngsters were violated because many of them did not understand English, that they did not thus benefit from schooling even when good schools were made available to them. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of the parents, directing the San Francisco Public Schools to either (a) conduct all basic studies in the native language of the child and to guarantee the non-English speaking child the same educational services available to the English-speaking one; or (b) carry on basic studies in the child's specific tongue, but then get the child to a level of functional English that would guarantee him the same educational benefits. The San Francisco Schools were given a deadline to meet in the near future whereby if a given school had a certain percentage (e.g., 20%) of non-English speakers (e.g., Chinese or Chicanos), then the school was to respond deliberately to the language needs of these speakers. This is a far-reaching decision; it means that various linguistically-alive groups in the U.S.--Puerto Ricans and other Hispanos, Haitians, French Canadians, Indians--would demand the same privilege of early education in a non-English tongue and get it.

## 1. Language Maintenance vs. Transition

In general, it can be said that there are perhaps two kinds of bilingualism: (a) endemic bilingualism, as, for example, in the case of Indians in Britain, and (b) luxury bilingualism, as, for instance, in the case of French for an Englishman. We would prefer to call the former "involuntary bilingualism"; the latter, "voluntary" one. In Wales, depending on whether the native language is English or Welsh, bilingualism could be either endemic or of the luxury type, voluntary or involuntary, unitary or reciprocal.

In this report, we have focused, *inter alia*, on Welsh-medium schools rather than English-medium ones. The policy of the Welsh-medium schools is to promote Welsh without destroying English--as a matter of fact, to promote the two languages rather equally, that is, one to act as a key to the cultural heritage and identity (Welsh), one to be the key to "getting on" and to wider opportunities in higher education (English). In this context, it can be said that Welsh is the language to be maintained at least through the sixth form; English is the language to be maintained even beyond. It is a case of *dual maintenance* or *dual* transition, depending on what use is made of either Welsh or English beyond secondary school.

One of the implications of this report to bilingual education is that we have dealt with Welsh as a first language and also with Welsh as a second language. For pupils coming to Welsh-medium secondary schools after passing through

Welsh-medium primary ones, Welsh is maintained as a first language. For pupils coming to Welsh-medium secondary schools but without going through Welsh-medium primary ones, Welsh is a special case of second-language acquisition. Our account on the "Block Program" illustrates this special case.

At University College, Aberystwyth, C. J. Dodson and his associates (cf. 1966, 1968) and Dan L. James (cf. 1974) are engaged in developing materials for teaching Welsh as a second language, materials that are beginning to attract the attention of U.S. language researchers (e.g., Cazden, 1973). In addition, we have mentioned the work of both the Welsh National Language Unit at Treforest, Pontypridd, Mid-Glamorgan (cf. Eric Evans, 1972), and of the Bilingual Education Project at Gartholwg Church Village, Pontypridd, Mid-Glamorgan (cf. Mrs. E. Price, 1972).

We need to add to the above a brief account dealing with the Schools Council Research and Development Project, specifically entitled "The Teaching and Learning of English in Wales, 8-13." This is a September, 1973 to September, 1976 project, concerned with teaching English as a second language to monoglot Welsh speakers between the ages of 8 and 13. The project is focused on the transition of English in the school life of these pupils from a second to a first language and the consequent movement of these pupils from Welsh-medium to English-medium instruction. There are 6 "school units" in this project, each consisting of 1 secondary school and 6 feeder primary ones, and 10 "teacher groups" meeting twice each term, totalling 300 teachers.

The schools in this project are located in Welsh-speaking rural areas, "natural Welsh" areas. It should be remembered that in Wales, English is still the second language of approximately 16% of school children (Sharp, 1972:102). This project, like similar ones dealing with Welsh as a second language, grew out of the recommendations of the Gittins Report (cf. Gittins, 1967, section 13.1). The project aims at development of three kinds of proficiency: literacy, oracy, and numeracy (English in Wales, Project Bulletin No. 1, p. 3, May 1974).

One of the interesting surveys carried out by the staff of this project is an "error analysis," a listing of mistakes made by pupils as reported by their teachers, mistakes dealing with different types of linguistic errors and their frequency, e.g., those related to Welsh influence on English spelling in junior school (ages 7-11) and the effect on English sentence patterns of the pupils' literal translation from Welsh, that is, the areas of interference between the two languages. Interesting passages are collected showing how Welsh-first-language pupils find it difficult to adjust from the phonetic spelling of Welsh to the less rational, or rather chaotic, system of English (English in Wales, Project Bulletin No. 2, p. 2, November 1974). (An interesting example of code switching between two languages, originally provided by Mackey, 1965, is cited by Gumperz, 1969:436, regarding the colloquial Canadian French expression, Pourquoi tu l'a fait pour? as a close translation in non-idiomatic French of the English, What have you done that for?).

Another objective of the "English as a Second Language" Project is development of second-language readers with content linked to Welsh rural life. Ten books are planned, in a series called "The Story of Emyr and Catrin," dealing with the lives of a brother and sister (cf. Dick, Jane, and Spot in American readers) living on a farm in Wales and describing their home, school, village, etc. The readers are intended for use in comprehension work and as a stimulus for composition (theme writing), both orally and in written form. They are usable as a basis for starting discussions where the daily lives of the readers could be compared with the lives of Emyr and Catrin. For secondary schools, the materials developed so far (only for the first and second forms) deal with such topics as "climbing," "horses," "farming," "swimming," "fishing," and "sports." With "sports" are included taped interviews with "sporting personalities" (athletes). In all this, the main guideline of the project is that "the language development of children is best fostered by the use and response to language, rather than by language exercises dealing with pieces of language divorced from a real context" (English in Wales, Project Bulletin No. 2, p. 4, November 1974).

This project is also concerned with a phenomenon quite familiar in cases of bilingualism, namely, that in Wales there are increasingly more and more children whose first language is nominally Welsh but is poor Welsh; or English, but is poor English. (In the U.S., Chicano and French-Canadian pupils are often accused of neither knowing Spanish or English well, or French or English, as the case may be. For a perceptive study of a U. S. variant of Spanish, the Pachuco dialect attributed originally to El Paso, Texas, see George Carpenter Barker, Pachuco, 1970.) Another concern is that there are a few children in Wales who are even trilingual: sons and daughters of Polish and Italian settlers whose first language is Polish or Italian; second language Welsh; and third language, English! A third concern, not yet fully conceptualized, is that this project in a sense deals with the confrontation of a world language (English) and a minority language struggling hard to keep its existence (Welsh). So far, no written report on these concerns has yet been prepared by the staff of the "English as a Second Language" Project.

Obviously, bilingual language projects have political implications; they touch upon issues of superiority and subordination. Some pro-Welsh Welshmen have requested the personnel of this project to send letters to participating schools only in Welsh. Others are aware of the fact that any statistics on Welsh speakers gathered by the staff of the "English as a Second Language" Project will act as a corrective to the Census data on the Welsh language and, thus, as "real statistics," are usable to bolster arguments and counter-arguments regarding Welsh as a living language. Such socio-cultural and socio-political issues are very important, if somewhat unacknowledged, in bilingual projects.

## 2. Teacher Training

To schoolmen, two questions are here especially relevant: What are the best kinds of teachers to have in bilingual and bicultural programs? What insights or sensitivities are needed for ensuring positive educational outcomes? Our account on Welsh-medium schools has reference to teachers and headmasters who have ensured the success of their endeavor, and is thus pertinent here.

Additional information is found in Troike, R. C., and Modiano, N. (eds.), The Proceedings of the First Inter-American Conference on Bilingual Education, Center for Applied Linguistics, Arlington, Virginia, 1975. Information could also be gotten from: (a) Ray Barnhardt, University of Alaska, regarding training Alaskan Indian and Eskimo teachers; and (b) Ralph E. Sabey, Project Canada West, Edmonton, regarding training of teachers and use of "culturally sensitive" materials in schools for Canadian Indians.

## 3. Assessment Instruments

Bilingual children are said to suffer in measurement of their scholastic attitudes and achievement because of the lack of accurate assessment instruments, including standardized tests, or the arbitrariness with which their results are interpreted. The problem is twofold in the sense that both so-called objective and subjective tests and approaches of the accurate variety are needed. This is still an underdeveloped area in American education, let alone Welsh, Frisian, and other types of bilingual education to which we have alluded in this report.

In our discussion of the issues of bilingualism, we have mentioned the research work of W. R. Jones, done by himself alone (1955a, 1955b, 1957, 1959, 1960, 1963, 1966, 1968, 1969), or in collaboration with others (1951, 1957). We have also mentioned the "MLAT" test (Modern Language Aptitude Test--Carroll and Sapon, 1965), one of the tests used at second-language entry points, e.g., in "Banding" English monoglots who had escaped going to a Welsh-medium primary school when they show up in the first year of secondary school at a Welsh-medium school ready to acquire Welsh as the language in which to receive instruction and which to use to sit for CSE, "O" level, and "A" level exams, that is, in the special arrangement called the "Block Program."

4. Language Valuation and Devaluation by Parents and Community

A researcher by the name of Mary McClure, currently at the University of Chicago, has found out that notwithstanding the high quality of a bilingual program for Spanish speakers, each year upward in school, the percentage of bilingual students who use Spanish goes down. In other words, students whose home language had been Spanish are not willing to maintain the language; in conversation, they are more inclined to respond in English as they more and more master English. With regard to Spanish, it is not a question of functionality as much as of social status; it is a social-psychological issue since the Spanish community itself, let alone the Anglo community, still devalues Spanish. For the bilingual student, speaking English is more acceptable; he spends his effort on defending and strengthening his English, not his Spanish. Many of the Spanish parents want their children to master English, not Spanish. English is the key to job opportunities: as the

Welsh say, it is the language of "getting on"; as some of the Franco-Canadians say, it is "the language of making money."

In our discussion of Welsh in schools, we have dwelt on the issue of the "market value" of the language, pointing out that the success of Welsh in Welsh-medium schools, and even as a second language in some English-medium schools, has depended on two factors: (a) the assurance to parents that the English their children will learn will be of superior quality, and (b) the linkage of Welsh to cultural resurgence and a sense of identity. For many pro-Welsh Welshmen, the latter point is inspearable from the former. As Gwilym E. Humphreys--a chemistry research scientist who had had a successful career working as such prior to establishing another successful career as an educator, as headmaster of an internationally famous Welsh-medium school, Rhydfelen--has said,

> One of the great benefits of bilingual education is that it generates self-confidence. When I left school, I felt uncertain and second rate in the presence of English speakers because of my language. But Rhydfelen students never feel inferior. They are at home in any situation. We give them self-confidence and so help to restore self-respect to Welsh people (quoted by Trevor Fishlock in his article in the London Times of June 18, 1974, "English-Speakers Who Want Their Children to be Taught in Welsh," emphasis added).

In our discussion of the social psychology of language, we mentioned the relation between language and self-respect, a relation enhancing both when the schools and teachers of a socially suppressed language, such as Welsh, are not only pro-Welsh but under Welsh administration. Bilingual programs for Chicanos or Puerto Ricans are quite often headed by Anglos or Anglo types, that is, by social models of outside power, by representatives of the dominant culture, by built-in symbols conveying a sense of inferiority for Spanish speakers.

Whereas in Wales, the word "bilingual" in reference to a person connotes something positive, in Texas recently it has been increasingly used to designate only Chicanos (Mexican Americans) in much the same way that "immigrants" in Britain means "Black immigrants" from Pakistan or the West Indies (they are lumped together as "Black" over there). In Texas, as used by some educational psychologists, "bilingual teachers" means Chicano, non-Anglo teachers; "bilingual children" means the same, although technically what the genteel Anglos of Texas call "bilingual children" are actually monolingual ones, since for the most part these children speak only Spanish at home. It is sociologically interesting to see how labels of inferiority are at times masked by surface euphemism.

In this report, we have also mentioned the work of such socio-linguists as Lambert, Macnamara, and Fishman, and also the work of the well-known Welsh HMI, E. Glyn Lewis (see bibliography for full reference, as well as the chapter on the schools). These writers have raised important issues concerning language and bilingualism. The Gittins Report and the work of Mary Roisin Pill should also be added here.

In addition to the four preceding points (language maintenance and transition; teacher training; assessment instruments; and language valuation and devaluation by parents and community), this report also has information bearing on the following questions: What constitutes good bilingual programs? What are some of the good practices (classroom and school practices) or better models? What are the issues of parent involvement and acquisition of community support? To what extent is certification of bilingual teachers needed? What are some of the examples of bilingual or bicultural materials developed? To what extent are there some important differences in the acquisition of a second language at the primary vs. secondary level? To what extent are the socio-cultural and social-psychological issues of introducing materials or curriculum packages into trilingual but mono-cultural schools (e.g., the schools containing Blacks, lower-class Whites, and Puerto Ricans in Hartford, Connecticut, or New York City) different from those associated with introduction of materials and devices into bilingual and even bicultural schools (e.g., some schools where French Canadians and Anglos are found together in New Hampshire and Maine; plus the Frisian-Dutch, Afrikaans-English, and Welsh-English varieties and situations)? What are the cultural roles of teachers in bilingual situations? What are the issues of negation and denigration, conformity and resurgence, in relation to language and social status, language and ethnicity? Chapters 4-7 suggest some answers and analyze some illustrative situations.

The main thrust of this report has been on language and ethnicity; ethnic boundaries; elites and counter-elites; the interlocking of institutions; the interplay of language, social class, ethnicity, and occupation as bases for stratification; and the consequences of relations of superiority and subordination. The major approach for viewing such issues has been that of the Third-World-in-the-First-World formulation; the tentative sociological hypothesis that seems to hold together and interlink a variety of data in this regard is that of "internal colonialism." Issues of nationality and nationalism, cultural and linguistic, as expressed in schools, courts of law, and the broadcasting and journalistic media, have received special attention. Wales as a case study, the interpretation of Welsh-English relations, can be viewed as but an instance, a point on a continuum, of a multiplicity of cases in the modern world.

We have paid special attention to schools because especially in Third-World regions they are more clearly seen as conscious instruments of stratification and cultural hegemony. We have viewed English-medium schools as instruments of the status quo; Welsh-medium schools as instruments of cultural resurgence. We have viewed the assertion of a native language, a suppressed language, as something that summarizes a number of socio-cultural, socio-political, and socio-economic issues. We assert that such phenomena can be seen much more clearly in an international context, that the larger the context, the more meaningful the interpretation. For us, interpretation essentially means the discovery of a new structure of relations.

The case of Wales highlights for us the ethnic nationalism of various groups in America, both White and non-White, and their recent cultural resurgence. By looking at what is not taken for granted--Welsh-medium schools and Welsh society--we become aware of what we take for granted: American public life and American public schools.

Mutatis mutandis, we can say the same thing about other institutions in American society, of the service and traditional type: churches, factories, hospitals, the mass media, courts of law, the family--both in their First World and Third World aspects.

This has been an exploratory study. We invite the reader to point out sins of omission as well as sins of commission, and any other facets of interest or disinterest. Truth grows by dialogue and debate. As T. S. Eliot has said,

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## GLOSSARY

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. ABER | Mouth of river, e.g., Aberystwyth |
| 2. ALBAN | Scotland (the word is Scottish Gaelic) |
| 3. AMERICANWR/AMERICANWYR | American/Americans |
| 4. ARWYNEBEDD | Surface. Cf. WYNEB: Face. |
| 5. BROGARWCH | Love of locality |
| 6. CAER | Fort, e.g., Caerleon |
| 7. COFIA | Remember, e.g., Cofia Tryweryn |
| 8. CYDYMDREIDDIAD | Mutual inter-penetration of land and language (a concept developed by J. R. Jones). |
| 9. CYDYMUNEDAETH | Gemeinschaftliness |
| 10. CYMANFA GANU | Congregation singing, hymn singing |
| 11. CYMDEITHAS | Society |
| 12. CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH GYMRAEG | Welsh Language Society |
| 13. CYMDOGAETH | Good neighborliness. Community. |
| 14. CYMRAEG | Welsh in speech, the Welsh language |
| 15. CYMRAEG BYW | Living Welsh |
| 16. CYMRAEG CYWIR | Correct Welsh |
| 17. CYMRAEG IAWN | Proper Welsh |
| 18. CYMREICTOD | Welshness |
| 19. CYMREIG | Welsh in spirit |
| 20. CYMRO/CYMRY | Welshman/Welshmen |
| 21. CYMRO BACH DU | Little dark Welshman |
| 22. CYMRO-CYMRAEG | Welsh-Welshman |
| 23. CYMROI'R CARN | Welshman to the core, Welshman through and through |
| 24. CYMRO RONC | True Welshman, Welsh-speaking Welshman |
| 25. CYMRU | Wales |

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| 26. CYMRU AM BYTH | Wales for ever! |
| 27. CYMRY AR WASGAR | The exiled Welsh, the scattered Welsh, the outspread Welsh, the Welsh of the Diaspora |
| 28. CYMRYGEIDDIO | Welshification, Gallicization |
| 29. EISTEDDFOD | Annual celebration of Welshness, including literary and musical contests |
| 30. GWERIN | Ordinary folks, common people |
| 31. "GWIR YN ERBYN Y BYD" | "The Truth against the Whole World," the Eisteddfod motto |
| 32. GWLAD | Land, country |
| 33. HIRAETH | An untranslatable word: longing for land, people, and culture of Wales |
| 34. IMPERIALAETH | 19th century imperialism, a later stage of colonialism |
| 35. Llan | Church, e.g., Llandaff |
| 36. LLENYDDIAETH EINGL-GYMREIG | Anglo-Welsh literature |
| 37. LLOEGR | England |
| 38. "PA FODD Y CWYM FODD Y CEDEYRN" | "How Are the Mighty Fallen" |
| 39. PLAID CYMRU | National Party of Wales |
| 40. RHYD-Y-CHEN | Oxford (literally, the ford of the oxen) |
| 41. SAES/SAESON | Englishman/the English |
| 42. SAESNEG | English in speech, the English language |
| 43. SAIS-O-GYMRO | An English-speaking Welshman, an Englishman of a Welshman |
| 44. SASSENACH | The English (the word is Scottish Gaelic, a corruption of Saxon. Cf. the Welsh "Saeson") |
| 45. SEISNIG | English in spirit |

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|---|---|
| 46. TAFOD Y DDRAIG | The Dragon's Tongue, i.e., Welsh |
| 47. TREFEDIGAETH/TREFEDIGAETHAU | Colony/colonies |
| 48. "TWLL TYN POB SAES" | "Screw the English," or "to hell with the English." Cf. "Toast the English"--said with a flourish by some Irish Americans when at a cafeteria counter ordering toasted English muffins for breakfast! Cf. "Wales" and "Welsh" in the multi-volume Oxford New English Dictionary for some pejorative expressions. |
| 49. "TYNGYD YR IAITH" | "The Fate of the Language," title of the BBC radio lecture given by Saunders Lewis on February 13, 1962 |
| 50. UNOL DALIAETHAU | United States |
| 51. Y | The (definite article) |
| 52. Y DDRAIG GOCH | The Red Dragon (Welsh National Flag) |
| 53. YMHERODRAETH | Empire |
| 54. YSGOL/YSGOLION | School/Schools |

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